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**STUDIES ON BILHANA AND HIS  
VIKRAMANKADEVACARITA**



# Studies on Bilhana and his Vikramankadevacarita

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## PREFACE

The investigations submitted here have grown from a study of Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (Vcar.), which I undertook under the guidance of Professor Paul Thieme.

In Chapter I, a number of textual improvements are proposed. Even if not each of them will be accepted, it will emerge from my treatment that our MS. tradition, scanty as it is, shows more doubtful readings as seems to have been realized (for example : by Bühler, Vcar., Introd. p. 46). At least in two cases, the text, as it stands, cannot give a true picture of the historical events described (see p. 8 on 4.119 c (in Bühler's ed. 4.118c) and p.10 on 5.78a).

It is hoped that the treatment of certain lexicographical items in Chapter II, will not only help the understanding and interpretation of Bilhaṇa, but will be welcome as a small contribution to the history of the Sanskrit vocabulary in the late Middle Ages. Now-a-days it will generally be accepted that the usage of individual poets is more differentiated than commentaries that rely exclusively on works like *Amarakośa* or even the *PW.* make us realize.

The secondary source material, dealt with in Chapter III, comprises a quantum of quotations from Vcar. in the five important *Subhāṣita*-s, viz. *Subhāṣitaratnaśa* (Srk.); *Saduktikarapāmya* (Sk.), *Sūktimuktāvalī* (Smk.), *Śārngadharapaddhati* (Śp.) and *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Subh.). As far as can be made out, the readings of the anthologies are inferior or deliberate changes (cp. e.g. on 16.2). In fact the readings offered by the anthologies can hardly help us to correct the MS. readings. An exception may be formed by 8.37c; 8.71d and 16.51c. Some readings in the anthologies are due to the distinct intention of rendering a given verse a more general application (cp. on 16.44, 51, 52; 17.11, 12). Curiously enough, some of Bilhaṇa's verses are quoted in anthologies anonymously. These are marked in the table of concordance of quotations on pp.65-68.

The most interesting result of Chapter IV, is the proof that *Vidyākara* quotes Bilhaṇa's *Karṇasundari* (cp. verse 39) on p. 81



whereby Kosambi's argument regarding the time of Vidyākara, in so far as it is based on his not knowing Bilhāṇa (cp. *Srk. Introd.* p. xxxiii), is shown to be invalid. Verses not verifiable in the extant works of Bilhāṇa, but ascribed to him in the anthologies, have been taken either from oral tradition of single verses or from works of his which are altogether lost. Four of the verses ascribed to Bilhāṇa (cp. vv. 14, 64, 71 and 79) treat the subject of the Rāma-story. This may seem interesting in connection with the Vcar. 18.94 and Bühler's assumption of Bilhāṇa's having composed Rāmastuti (a proper "Rāmacarita" with Bilhāṇa as an author seems rather unlikely). On several occasions the verses treated here show affinity in style or vocabulary with the extant work of Bilhāṇa and these as such have been discussed critically. Not in all cases the genuineness of the ascription to Bilhāṇa is warranted by such further evidence.

Chapters V and VI, give or retrieve available information on Bilhāṇa and his works, with a view to revive interest in this poet and his works and to facilitate future research thereby.

I express my deep sense of gratitude to my revered teacher Professor Dr. Paul Thieme, who has given me the benefit of his great learning by going through the entire text of *Vikramāṅka-devacarita* with me as well as his valuable guidance in making this work presentable. I am thankful to Dr. W. Gebhardt, Director of the University Library, Tübingen, for appointing me as Academic Assistant (Indology) in the Oriental Section of the University Library, thus enabling me to finance my years of study in Tübingen. To Dr. A. Wezler, who always helped me in academic and other matters, I express my gratefulness. Had it not been for Miss Angelika Ilsch's excellent typing accuracy, this dissertation would never have attained its present, almost flawless presentation. I would like to take this opportunity of warmly thanking her for her co-operation. Of my German friends I would especially like to mention Mr. and Mrs. E. Plöger; the affection I feel for them can hardly be expressed. Last but not least, I wish to express my deepest feelings to my parents and my wife Durgā for being so patient and loving.

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## Specimens of Textual Difficulties

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- 1.48b *lakṣa*- "aim" : a wrong orthography (cp. also 12.5 : 18.30) instead of *lakṣya* "to be observed/marked", gerundive of root *lakṣ* "to mark, to observe", cp. 7.73 ; 12.76 ; 13.19, 52, 55 ; 17.4, 53 ; 18.8.—cp. on 12.5b ; 18.30d.
- lakṣa*- is an orthographic variant, *y* being dropped after *ṣ*. (cp. J. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, Bd. 1 para. 235, 1957 ; P. Thieme, *Heimat der indoger. Gemeinsprache* (Abh. d. Ak.d. Wiss.u. Lit. Mainz, Geistes—und Sozialwiss. Kl. Jg. 1953, Nr. 11, S. 573 ff) ).
- 1.64c On *nāgarakhaṇḍa*, see below Chap. II.10
- 1.74a For—*mauktikaśrīḥ*, "splendour of the pearl", (in all edd.) read *mauktikaḥ śrī-* and construe *śrī-* with *satyāśrayaḥ* as an honorific word, which is fully confirmed by the parallel stanzas, e.g. 1.68 *śrītailapaḥ*, 1.79 *śrījayasiṃhadevaḥ*. For the wrong orthography cp. below on 7.29c ; Chap. II, n. 48 ; Chap. IV, v. 66.
- 1.115c For *vidhṛtya* "having caught" read *vivṛtya* "having opened", cp. below Chap. II, n. 29.
- 2.31a *mama* may either be construed with *sadṛśam* or *guṇaiḥ*. This kind of construction is styled in Sanskrit *kākāḥṣṭigolakanyāya-*, lit. "the manner of a crow's eye-ball", a curious term arising from the common belief in India that the crow possesses but a single eye, which may readily be transferred from one eye-socket to the other,

- 2.38d *āgraha-*, is used in the sense of "stubborn wish, persistent resolution", hence *kṛtāgraha-*, "he who has formed a firm resolution". Contrast Hindi *āgraha*, meaning "request". Cp. *āgraha-* 5.18, 9.130, 10.87 (emend *līlāvagāhagraha-* to *līlāvagāhāgraha-*); *durāgraha* "bad (=ill-adviced) resolution". 3.52 ; 4.115 ; 6.7; 7.12; 16.42.
- 2.39a *kṛtāśrutāgamaḥ* of the MS. may be interpreted (cp. p.1 on 1.74a) as standing for *kṛtāś śrutāgamaḥ*. If this interpretation is accepted as it is by the 3rd ed. the construction would be :

"I am one who has studied the Veda, who has heard (from an authoritative teacher) the tradition, rather much exertion/strenuous work (*bhūyān śramaḥ*) has been done (*kṛtaḥ...asti*) [by me]..."

\*

\*

The word order seems rather strange, we do not expect *kṛtaḥ* before *śrutāgamaḥ*, because *kṛtaḥ* belongs in the *asti* sentence, while *śrutāgamaḥ* belongs to the *asmi* sentence. The interpretation of Bühler and *ed. sec.* (*kṛtāśrutāgamaḥ*), therefore, is to be accepted :

\*

\*

\*

*adhītavedo 'smi kṛtāśrutāgamaḥ*  
*śramo' sti bhūyān itihāsavartmasu/*

"I am one who has studied the Veda, who has done (executed) the tradition of the sacred texts (i.e. of the *śruti*) there exists rather ample exertion [undergone by me] on the paths of the lore of stories".

An objection against this might be raised. The expressions *adhītaveda-* and *kṛtāśrutāgama-* amount to the same thing, there would be a tautology (*paunaruktya* or *piṣṭapeṣaṇa*).

A possible way to remove this tautology is to emend *śrutāgama-* into *smṛtāgama-*, "the *smṛti* tradition". The king would refer to his study of the Veda (*veda*) of the *Dharmaśāstra* (*smṛtāgama*) and the Epics (*itihāsa*).

- 2.58a *netracakora-* may be analysed as an *upamā*-compound (Pāṇ.2.1.56) "eyes like Cakora birds" or as a *rūpaka-* compound (according to Pāṇ. 2.1.72 in its traditional interpretation) "Cakora birds that are in reality eyes" (*netrāṇy eva cakorāḥ*).

The second analysis would be preferable : the implied comparison (*upamā*) is of the prince and the moon, while the eyes are equated with Cakora birds<sup>1</sup> (*ed. ter. correctly : upamārūpakayoḥ saṃkaraḥ*).

- 2.80a For *vitīṛṇa-*, "bestowed", (all *ed.*) substitute *vikīṛṇa-*, "thrown about, scattered", which seems to be more suitable. *vikīṛṇa* also in 6.10—*vikīṛṇa-...samīra*—"the breezes scattered by". Cp. also 18.14 *siḷā viprakīṛṇāḥ* "the rocks that were scattered." 18.6—*kīṛṇakarṇāṇṛta-* "by which nectar for the ears is scattered". *akṣata-* "uncrushed grain", as an object of *ud-kṛī*, compare 2.83 *akṣatotkaraiḥ* "by the throwings up of uncrushed grain".

- d On—*añcitam* (*ed. sec. and ter.*), see below Chap. II n. 2.

- 2.81d *samarpayantī nṛpater mahotsavam*, "offering the king a great festival", genitive far dative: In later Sanskrit, the use of genitive instead of dative is found with increasing frequency. This is due to the influence of the vernaculars in all of which the genitive has taken over the function of the dative. Further examples from our text are :

2.89a *akathayad avanīndor nandanotpattivārttām*  
"told the king the news of the birth of the son" ;

9.31ab *...smaraḥ...asyāḥ kathayāṃ babhūva...* "the god of Love told her..." ;

1. The Cakora bird (red Partridge, *Perdix rufa*) is supposed to live only on moon-beams. Eyes that are Cakora birds are, then, eyes highly appreciative of lunar beauty.

9.73b ...*sakhīnām kim api bruvāṇā*...“saying something to [her] girl friends” ;

9.93a *pradarśayām āsa tataḥ kumāryāḥ*<sup>2</sup>...“then he showed to the maiden...” ;

9.94 *yasya...maurvīraḥ...  
...pātālatalasthitānām...kathayām babhūva*  
“whose bowstring twang told those who dwell on the bottom of the *Pātāla*...” ;

13.50ab *samarpayām āsa payāṁsi...*

*jaladhīḥ payomucām*

“the ocean offered water to the clouds.”

2.90ab For *cañcat*-(all edd.) read *carcat*-, and for-*karaṭi*-“elephant” in b read with Bühler-*karaṭam* “a kind of drum”. For discussion of this pāda cp. Chap. II on root *luṭ*.

3.5a ...-*aruṇaratnadīpaprabhā*-, would be : “the shine of the lamp that was the red jewel [in his hand]”. Following the lead given by 1.91 *dīprapratāpānala*-“fire of a fierce glow”, we might conjecture :-*dīpraprabhā*-“the fierce shine [of the red jewel]”. The following comparison of the shine with a blood-smeared sword seems to go better with the expression “fierce glow” than “glow of a lamp [that was...]”.

3.7a *addatta*, use of *ātmanepada* (middle voice), for *parasmaipada* (active voice) recurring in 4.67; 12.12, is remarkable; cp also *avocata* in place of *avocat* in 3.8a ; *bruvāṇa* in place of *bruvati* in 9.71b. Since root *dā* is *ñīt* (Dhātup. 3.9) and *vac* is substituted for *brū*, which is *ñīt* (Dhātup. 2.35), the *ātmanepada* must be used, according to Pāṇ. 1.3.72, to denote that the benefit of the action goes to the agent. “He gave

2. *kumāryāḥ* is a conjecture cf ed. sec.; Bühler has in accordance with the MS. *kumāryām* which is not construable,

for his benefit", "he said for his benefit" would be said in the sense of "he gave/he said without being asked", that is "spontaneously". This "spontaneously", added in the translation to the adduced passages, would make good sense everywhere.

- 3.30d *āstām ayam*, "let it rest", is correct (so *edd. sec. and ter.*). *māstām* (*mā āstām*), as read, by Bühler against the MS., which has *samāstāmāstām*<sup>3</sup> does not make sense.<sup>4</sup>

- 3.60d *yaśovataṃsa-* used here as bahuvrīhi: "one whose wreath is fame":

*papau...yaśovataṃsāni jayāmṛtāni*

"he drank the glory-wreathed nectar of the victories".

The idea seems to be that the cup from which he drinks the nectar is wreathed with [the white flowers of] fame. Compare also:

1.86 *yaśovataṃsaṃ nagaraṃ surāṇām|kurvan...*

"making the city of the gods wreathed (adorned) by his fame."

6.7 *raṇarabhasavilāsakautuke*<sup>5</sup> *na sthitim...bibhrad asau yaśovataṃsām*

"not exhibiting continuance in (=continuous attachment to) the glory-wreathed (=glory rewarded) curiosity (=desire) for the sport of battle fury".

3. Giving *samāstām* instead of *samastām*.

4. Bühler might have thought of a form *stām*, 3rd pers. sing. imper. *ātmanepada* (formed according to Pāṇ. 6.4.111), of root *as* "to be", which, however never takes *ātmanepada*.

5. Read - *kautuke*, "loc. in the curiosity" instead of—*kautukena*, as an instrumental case (in all *edd.*), and separate *na* "not" from it as above.



6.71 —*mauktikāvatanaṣadviradaśiraḥsthala-*

“the pearl-wreathed elephant-head”;

10.70 *kriḍāśaras tāmarasāvataṇṣam...*

“play-pool wreathed by *tāmarasa* (red lotus.)”

16.33 *viśadakīrtikṛtāvatanaṣaḥ-*

“he for whom a wreath was formed by [his] white fame”.

4.6cd *sāmrajya-*, “rulership, empire”...*śītopacārasāmrajyam bhejur malayaninnagāḥ* “the rivers of the Malaya [-mountain] acquired rulership in cooling treatment (in the medical sense); i.e. “they became royally potent”, may just be possible. Easier would be to read *sāmarhtyam*, “capacity”: [they acquired capacity] for the cooling treatment. Cp. 4.120d *sāmarthya-*, “capacity”.

4.40b *sthiti-*, “state or condition of staying”, used here in the sense of “condition of health”; cp. 4.5 *sthiti-* “condition of wellbeing”; but 6.7 *sthiti-* “continuance”.

4.67a For *adatta*, *ātmanepada*, see above on 3.7a.

4.44c *vyāpiparti* (vy—*ā* with root *prī*, “to keep oneself engaged”, cf. *vyāprta-*, “occupied, engaged” in verse 5.27) is a remarkable form, used here instead of the usual *vyāpriyate*, obviously on the strength of *Dhātup.* 3.4.

4.56b *sevaka-* derived from *sev* in the sense of “to frequent”, means “visitor” and not “attendant” or “servant” as explained by the Eng. rend. The verse in question :

*ātmānam unmadadvāḥstha—  
galahastitasevakāḥ/  
agamyam api daivasya  
vidanti hatapārthivāḥ||*

“Deluded kings, whose [unwelcomed] visitors (*sevaka*) are seized by the throat by their furious

door-keepers, know (i.e. think they know) that their self is unapproachable even by fate [that brings death]”.

Otherwise : 16.3cd *kāntāmukhānāṇi hemantaḥ sevakat-vam aśikṣata*, “winter learnt to become a servant of the faces of the lovelies [by destroying the beauty of their rival, the moon]”. Here *sevaka*- is derived from *sev* in the sense of “to serve”. *sev*, meaning “to honour”, is used either in the sense of (a) “to honour by a visit” (e.g. a god, a temple, a palace) = “to visit, to frequent”, or in the sense of (b) “to honour by offering service to [a god, a king etc.]” = “to serve”.

- 4.69-71 These three verses stand in contextual unity, 69-70 being the chief sentence which runs : “he...wept so” (*ruroda...tathā*), 71 being a dependent clause, which gives the ensuing result “that even the sun thought” (...*manyate sma yathā...tigmāṃśuḥ*). The Ahmedabad MS., therefore, is right in calling them a *viśeṣaka* (“group of three verses”) while Bhardwāj (*ed. ter.*) in treating 69-70 as a *yugma* (*ka*) (group of two verses), separating them from 71, can hardly be right.

- 4.83cd The MS. has two versions :

- I. *bhāgyānām eva me doṣād eṣa jātaḥ parikṣayaḥ*
- II. *madbhāgyadoṣād evaiṣa jāne jātaḥ parikṣayaḥ*

In the second one the 5th syllable of *c* is long, which is against the metrical rules given for the *śloka*. The first one removes this blemish and must, therefore, be considered to be a deliberate improvement (made by somebody, who noticed the poet’s slip, afterwards) Cp. blow Chap. III on 16.2.

- 4.90c *kavinā sukhagoṣṭhī...vīrahitā* 91) : “an assembly for wellbeing/pleasure” or “pleasurable assembly (left) by a poet (=without a poet)” ? : unrecorded in lexicons but of course unexceptionable. Possibly yet to be amended : *kavināsuragoṣṭhī*- “the assembly of

the Asuras (demons) [left] by (without) Kavi (= Śukrāchārya, the preceptor of the Asuras)". In view of the comparison in the very next verse...*kavitveneva vāgmitā* "like eloquence [left] by poetry", one might expect *kavi*-in 4.90c to designate not just a poet.

4.119c

Bühler reads *kupito kṣmābhṛt*—which is, of course, impossible. *Ed. sec.*, followed by *ed. ter.*, silently changes to *kupitaḥ*. Better sense results if we read *kupita*-instead of *kupitaḥ* and compound it with *kṣmābhṛt* :

c *api ca kupitakṣmābhṛtsenāgajesu niṣeṣubhiḥ*

d *kaṭiṣu vidadhe dhairyadhvaṃsaṃ na sāhasalāñ-  
chanāḥ ||*

"and in how many elephants of the army of the enraged king (that is Somadeva) did Vikramāditya not cause crumbling of fortitude by his arrows?"

The expression "arrows" is strange as a battle with his brother, at this point, certainly did not take place; cp. 5.5 and 6<sup>6</sup>. Perhaps we should amend *niṣeṣubhiḥ* : "by his jealous ones (his male elephants that smell the king's elephants in their stables start to trumpet, whereupon these get afraid)".<sup>7</sup> *īṣu* for *īṣyu* is a common misspelling (see Apte. *s. v.* *īṣyā*, *īṣya*, *īṣyu*). Cp. also above on 1.48b (*lakṣa* for *lakṣya*).

Note that Vikramāditya, though in distress about the bad behaviour of his elder brother Somadeva, is himself not "enraged" (*kupita*) neither can he be designated, as yet, as *kṣmābhṛt* (king) : verses 116-117. Somadeva, of course, is "enraged, because his younger brother leaves the town spontaneously—and obviously, without giving due notice—with an army : 5.3-5 (cp. in particular *kvathanmanāḥ* in 5.5, said of Somadeva).

6. Battles with other kings ensue only after Vikramāditya has crossed the Tuṅgabhadra (5.18), the southern frontier of the Cālukya kingdom.

7. As to the jealousy (*īṣyā*, *asūyā*, *amarga*, *roṣa*) of the male elephants, cp. Ragh. 4.23 (*asūyā*); Śiś. 5.32-36, 42 etc.

- 5.6d *gahana-*, "deep (of a stream : 12.6), dense, thick (of a jungle)", used here, nominalized in the sense of "impenetrableness, insuperable difficulty" (lit. : "what is dense. impenetrable"), as second member of a *bahuvrīhi* : *agahana-*, "without insuperable difficulty". i.e. "who cannot be embarrassed" ; cf. 15.61 *agahana-*; 15.37 *nirgahana-*. The adjective *gahana-* "insuperably difficult": 6.99 ; 7.74 ; 18.80. Construed with dative of aim : *poṣaṇāya gahana-* "insuperably difficult [on their way] to make prosperous...(that is : ...when they want to reach the aim to make prosperous)" (6.99) ; *drumabhañjanāya gahana-* "insuperably difficult (on somebody's way) to break trees, (that is : when he wants to break tree)" (7.74).
- 5.18cd *-āhavaprāptidurlalitabāhu-*, "whose arm was spoiled by the obtaining of fight", seems not intelligible. Read, therefore, *āhavāprāptidurlalitabāhu-*, "whose arm was spoiled by not obtaining fights", i.e. unruly because of not getting fights, like a child that was fondled too much or kept from exerting itself and hence gets restless.
- 5.22a *-khaṇḍa-*. Manuscripts, particularly from the West, often confound *ṣaṇḍa-*, "thicket, multitude", and *khaṇḍa-*, piece, fragment", because *ṣa* and *kha* are—at the time of our MSS.—pronounced the same way (*xa*). The compound *nārikelaphalakhaṇḍa-* (all edd.) should therefore be interpreted as "multitude (*ṣaṇḍa*) of coconut fruits". Compare also :
- 13.88a *vidyutpaṅkajakhaṇḍapaṅkapaṭali...* *ambho-dharaḥ*  
 "the cloud...which is the swamp for the multitudes (*ṣaṇḍa*) of the lotuses that are the lightnings".
- 16.22 *...sa rājate sma khaṇḍena...nilotpālānām iva rājahaṇṣaḥ*  
 "...he (the king) shone [through his dark blue umbrella] like a royal goose through a

multitude (*śaṇḍa*-) of blue lotuses”.

18.7d *drākṣākhaṇḍeṣu*,

“in the multitudes (*śaṇḍa*-) of the grapes”.

*śaṇḍa* and *khaṇḍa* (both spelt *khaṇḍa*) side by side :

18.18 *śrikhaṇḍāmbhaḥ* “sandal water”, and *drākṣākhaṇḍa*-, “multitude (*śaṇḍa*) of grapes”.

*khaṇḍa* is correct in 13.15 :

*apaśyad asmin samaye mahipatiḥ payodakh-  
aṇḍam militārkamaṇḍalam |*

*sakuṇḍalam vārimucām aneḥasaḥ kuto’pi  
mūrdhūnam ivārdhanirgatam ||*

“At this moment the king saw a piece (*khaṇḍa*) of a cloud that had met the orb of the sun, [a cloud, which looked] like the head of the rainy season (lit. : “the time of the clouds”) adorned by an earring having half come out from somewhere”.

On *nāgrakhaṇḍa* (1.64) cp. below Chap. II.10.

- 5.78a *kṛtasthitiḥ*...In 5.56 the messenger of the Cola king proposes Vikramāditya to return (*ni-vṛt*) [from the Cola country he has invaded] and to take his stand in the vicinity/proximity (*upāntavartmani*)—obviously of the Cola country. This vicinity/proximity is defined as *tuṅgabhadrayā mudrite*, “sealed by the Tuṅgabhadra”. Whether we understand sealed (*mudrita*) in the sense of “marked” (*cihṇita*) or “sealed off, closed” (cf. 11.19 *amudrita* “unsealed ; unrestrained” ; Kārṇasu. 4.5, 6 *mudrita* “closed, sealed”) the northern shore of the Tuṅgabhadra, which lies outside the Cola country, but in its immediate vicinity (*upāntavartmani*), must be meant. The peacetreaty the Cola king proposes and which he wants to cement by offering his daughter to Vikramāditya as a wife, can be concluded only—it seems obvious—when

Vikramāditya has left the country : only on this condition the Cola king's "gift of friendship" (that is the giving of his daughter in matrimony) cannot be looked at as a "gift of fear" (verse 58). This is borne out by the following description of the Cola king's army reaching the Tuṅgabhadra, putting up a camp alongside its shore (verse 76) and enjoying bathing in the river (verse 77) : this would be impossible if King Vikramāditya had himself with his army occupied the southern shore. Consequently the reading of all the editions in verse 78 *dakṣiṇataṭe kṛtasthitiḥ kuntalenduḥ*... "the moon of the Kuntalas having taken his stand on the southern shore", cannot be correct. We have to amend *dakṣiṇataṭe kṛtasthiti* and construe it with *tad balam*. Thus we get :

- a *tatra dakṣiṇataṭe kṛtasthiti*  
 b *kuntalendur avalokya tad balam |*

"the moon of the Kuntalas having seen [from the northern shore] his (the Cola king's) army, that had taken its stand on this southern shore.....".

Afterwards messengers are sent (verse 80) of course across the river.

- 6.7a Interpret *raṇarabhasavilāsakautukena* not as instr., "by the curiosity for the sport of battle fury", but as loc. *kautuke*, "in the curiosity.....", and following negative particle *na*, see above remark on 3.60d.
- 6.18,19 Verse 19 describes—like the preceeding verses 12-17—the behavior of one particular girl at the sight of the king, while verse 18 gives a comprehensive finishing statement : *iti.....abhavad...vilāsaḥ*... "thus was the playful behaviour [of the beautiful women of the town]...". The order of the verses 18 and 19 should, therefore, be inverted.
- 6.19a *āluloke* "was looked at" in 19a is peculiar as it cannot be derived from *ālokaya*-, "to look at", of

which the perf. pass. would be *ālokeyāṃ cakre*, but must be taught to belong to *ā - lok* (Dhātup. 1.76 *loky darśane*) : *ālokate*, not met with outside grammatical works and possibly a grammatical fiction.

6.21c *niviṣṭa-* does not mean *dalita -*, “torn asunder”, as it is glossed in *ed.ter.* What is expected in this context *caranatalaniviṣṭaduṣṭavargaḥ*, “by whom the crowd of the evil ones was.....by the soles of his feet”, would be *nipiṣṭa-*, “crushed”. The sounds *p* and *v* appear to be easily confounded by Jain writers, cp. *ed. sec. Prastāvanā*, p.3.

6.26d The expression *prakṛtivyrodhahata-* might mean according to Bühler (Introd., p.35 and note 3) either : “slain in consequence of a disagreement (*vyrodha*) with his subjects (*prakṛti*)” or “killed (by Rājiga) in consequence of an inveterate enmity”; There is a third possibility, however : *yaśovirodhin-* in 6.62 means “what is in conflict with a good name”, i.e. disgraceful”, *dharmavirodhin-* in 6.65 means “what is in conflict with sacred tradition”, i.e. “impious”. Hence *prakṛtivyrodhin-* in 6.27 would mean “who is in conflict with nature”, i.e. “unnatural”. This fits well as a qualification of Somadeva, who indulges in an unnatural hatred towards his brother.

In 6.26 we should have to understand: “slain by conflict with nature”, which does not seem to make sense. I propose to read instead of *prakṛtivyrodhahatasya* rather : *prakṛtivyrodhihatasya* “who was slain by an unnatural one”, that is a relative who thereby acted towards him in an unnatural way. It may be noted that also historically a palace intrigue led by a relative of the king is rather more likely than a rebellion of the subjects. This latter point may be the reason that the Eng.rend. interprets : “distressed by the revolt of his subjects”. But *hata-* obviously is not “distressed”, rather only “slain, killed”.

6.51c Instead of Bühler's (*ed pri.*) *navendranilā-* the MSS. and subsequent edd. have *navendranila-*:

c *gaganagīritaṭī navendranīla-*

d *drutiśatanirjharadhāriṇīva reje ||*

“the top of the mountain of the sky (lit. which is the sky) shone like bearing a hundred cascades of fresh meltings of (blue) sapphires (=of just molten: sapphires)”.

While *druti-*, “melting, molten substance”, here fits well as qualification of *nirjhara-*, “cascade”, it should be changed into *dyuti-* in 11.41a *ketakadrutinibham ...mahaḥ...indoh*, “the splendour (*mahaḥ*) of the moon that was like the shine (*dyuti*) of a (white) *Ketaka* flower”. Cp. 11.87:

a *nikṣīpya.....*

b *ātmadyutiṃ dadhati pāṇḍuratām pradīpāḥ|*

“having thrown down their own lustre (*dyuti*), the lamps are taking on whiteness (becoming pale)”.

6.53c For *raṇarasacalitam*, “moved towards the taste of battle”, substitute *raṇarasavalītam*, “addicted to the taste of battle” *valīta-* from the root *val* in the sense of “to turn to, to be drawn to, to be attached to” (Apte, s. v. 3). ॠ and ॡ in the MS. is difficult to distinguish (cp. Bühler, *Introd.* p.45).

6.88bd Bühler (*ed. pri.*) reads in b *kelikāraḥ* (against *keli-kālaḥ* of second and third editions, which do not mention his reading), and *-puṇḍarikakośam* in d. against *puṇḍarikāśeṣam* (second and third edd., which in this case mention Bühler’s reading) *keli-kāraḥ* in b is certainly preferable.

a *dviradapatir amuṣya śatrusenā-*

b *bhaṭamukhapadmavimardakelikāraḥ |*

“His (Vikramāditya’s) leading elephant making (*-kāra*, i. e. playing) the play of crushing the



lotus flowers that were the faces of the soldiers of the enemy army",

is as an allusion to the well known sportive nature of elephants—a famous example : Megh. 1.2 *vaprakrīḍ-āpariṇatagaja-*, more suitable than : "His...elephant, the god of death in (for) the play/game of crushing...".

Seeing that Bühler's reading is not even mentioned,<sup>8</sup> we may even consider the- *kālaḥ* of the second ed., taken over by the third ed., to be due to a slip of pen.

—*śeṣam* in d (against Bühler's *kośam*) seems to have the support of the MSS. and alone makes good sense:

c. ....*raṇasaraś cakāra lakṣmī* |

d. *karadhṛtavibhramapuṇḍarīkaśeṣam* | |

"...he (the elephant) turned the pool that was the battle, into one in which there was left only the lotus held by the hand of Lakṣmī (the goddess of Fortune)".

.....*puṇḍarīkakośam*, "he turned the battle-pool into one in which the lotus calix was held by the hand of Lakṣmī", would not express the idea, necessary in this context, that this was the only lotus left.

7.14b *nimīlita-*, "having been closed", does not make sense here. What is required, is a participle meaning "tormented" (= *vyathita*, glossed in *ed. ter.*). Hence read *nipīḍita-* > *nipīlita* > *nipīlita*).

7.29c *asaṃvṛtasrastadukūlabandhe* : it is difficult to construe this as a compound, for the hips of the women (*jaghane vadhūnām*) are not first "uncovered"

8. Cp. also 1.115. . . *yaśaḥpaṭolluṇṭhanakelikāraḥ*, "indulging in the sport of robbing the dress that is (white) fame"; 16.52. . . *tuhinagiritāṣikellikārāḥ samīrāḥ*, "the winds indulging in sports on the slopes of the snow mountain",

(*asaṃvṛta*-) and then "loosing their linen dress" (-*srastadukūlabandha*-) as we have to understand according to Pāṇ, 2.1.49. Better is the conjecture of *ed. ter.* : *asaṃvṛte srastadukūlabandhe*, "[the hips of the women] having been uncovered, their underwear having gone". Easiest, and therefore best, would be to interpret the tradition as : *asaṃvṛta* [s] *srastadukūlabandha* and construe *asaṃvṛtas* with *manobhūḥ* "love, unfettered". Cp. above p. 1, on 1.74a.

- 7.71ab *kuhūt-kāri* : the wrong orthography *kuhūt*- (all edd. and anthologies) instead of *kuhū*, "a sound, like the cry of the Kokila", may be due to false analogy after *phūtkṛ* (8.18 ; 11.23) "to make a hissing sound". Cp. below Chap. III on 7.71.

*bhām-kāri*- f. "a certain (rambling) sound" in b (onomotopoetic ?), also attested in 9.22, to be connected with *bhām-kāri* f. "gad-fly", or just wrong for *jhām-kāra*- (cp. *jhām-kṛta* 9.148).

- 8.41a *māti* : the reading of MS. (*māti*) should be kept (with *ed. sec.*) and not changed into *bhāti* (*edd. prt.* and *ter.*). It can, of course, not mean *āgacchati* (*ed. sec.*) but fits, finds place in". Cp. 2.79 *kvaçin na māti sma mudā nareśvaraḥ*, "the king did not find a place anywhere through joy", i.e. "cannot contain himself for joy", cp. Śiś. 1.23 etc. The verse in question

*māti nirvivare tasyāḥ citraṃ kucayugāntare|*  
*kṛdākunḍalitoccaṇḍa kodaṇḍaḥ kusumāyudhaḥ|*

should be rendered as follows :

"God Love, whose terrible bow is playfully arched, fits, [it is] marvelous, in the space between her breasts, which [yet] is without an opening [which might give him room]".

- 8.86ç Instead of *neṣyate* (*na - iṣyate*) "is not desired" pass.

- of *anveṣaya* read *anveṣyate* (*anu-iṣyate*) "is looked for", cp. below Chap. III on 8.36.
- 9.41d *astī* with *sma* - is a hapax, presumably *metri causa* for *saṁbhavati*.
- 9.68 The *kulaka* starts from this verse, not from the next one (thus erroneously *ed. ter.*).
- 9.92a *kumāryāḥ*, in second and third editions, conjectured for *kumāryāṁ*, in the MS. and *ed. pri.* is hardly correct. *kumāryāṁ* (loc.) is to be construed with *agamaḥ*<sup>9</sup>, like *nīce* in the comparison : "the instruction went to the girl in vain, like a service [goes in vain] to a vile one". For the thought compare : Bhāsa, Cārudatta, 1.19 ; Bālacarita 1.15 (=Śūdraka, Mṛcchakaṭīka, 1,34) ;

*limpatīva tamo'ṅgāni varṣatīvāñjanaṁ nabhaḥ |*  
*asatpuruṣaseveva dṛṣṭir viphalatāṁ gatā ||*

Bhāravi, Kirāt., 13.33 :

*upakāra ivāsatī prayuktaḥ sthitim aprāpya mṛge*  
*gataḥ prañāśam |*

*kṛtaśaktir adhomukho gurutvāj janitavrīḍa*  
*ivātmapauruṣeṇa |*

- 10.13d For *labdhārjanānām*. "of those that have obtained acquisition", which does not make sense in the context (*labhārjanānām ayam eva mārgaḥ*, "this is the way of those that have obtained acquisition"). *ed. ter* conjectures : *lubdhair janānām*, which seems better—as it is indeed a greedy bee that is spoken of in the verse—but is difficult of construction : "this is the way of people with the greedy". We should expect rather a loc., than an instrumental ; besides, the verse is concerned with bees, not with people. More

9. Cp. Raghu. 6.66. . . *tadiyo lebhe antaram cetasi nopadeśaḥ*, "her instruction did not obtain a place in her mind",

conservative and without difficulties would be to read : *lubdhārjanānām ayam eva mārṅaḥ*..., "this is the way of the acquisitions (=thus it goes with the acquisitions) of the greedy ones...".

- 10.27a *vilāsa*-(*vi-las* with *ghañ*), used as an adjective (*ed.ter.*, *comm.* ; *vilāsair*=*vilāsayuktaiḥ*) is hardly possible  
Read perhaps for *vilāsair* rather *vikālair* :

*tavāṅgavallīkusumair vilāsair*  
*avaṁmi kāmo hriyamāṇanetraḥ |*  
*caitrārpiṭaṁ nūtanam astrajātaṁ*  
*saṁdhātukāmo 'pi na saṁdadhāti | |*

"God Kāma, whose eyes, I think, are robbed, (forcibly taken) by the timeless (*vikāla*) flowers (=flowers that know no season) of the liana that is your body, does not place on his bowstring the new arsenal of arrows [i.e. flowers] offered by the season Caitra, though he is wishing to do so."

- 11.23c *nivārtadīpāḥ* : here *nivārīta*-; "kept off" does not yield the sense *praśānta*, "extinguished" (*ed. ter.*, *comm.*). I would suggest, in the light of the context, reading *nirvāpīta*-, "extinguished", and thus render : "lamps were extinguished [by the women...]". For *cāpalaṁ* (all edd.) in d read *cāturaṁ*, which suits well, since god Kāma's action of procuring a love meeting without obstacles is one of "cleverness" (*cātura*) and not of "fickleness" (*cāpala*).

- 11.41a For *ketakadruti*-, "melting of the Ketaka flower", read *ketakadyuti*-, "shine of a (white) Ketaka flower", cp. above on 6.51c.

- 11.70b Instead of *mukhavibhramalakṣmīḥ*, "the beauty of the dalliance of their faces", read *sukhavibhramalakṣmīḥ*, "the beauty of the dalliance of their bliss (could not be measured/contained in their cabinet of amour)".

11.79c For *ghanamasṛṇavibhūṣākhaṇḍana*....read *ghanagh-usṛṇa*....since *masṛṇa*- (cp. also 18.17, 29, 31), "soft, smooth, tender", is not a fitting qualification of *vibhūṣā*, "ornament", and it is impossible that the jilted girls are said to actually break their ornaments. The cheeks(*gaṇḍa*) are "terrible [looking]" rather by "the breaking (getting destroyed) of the ornament which is the solid, thick (*ghana*) saffron". The use of *kuṅkuma* or *ghuṣṛṇa*, "saffron", (cp.11.1 ; 16.47; 18.31) for cosmetic purposes is quite common.

12.5b For *lakṣīkṛtā* read *lakṣyīkṛtā*, see adove on 1.48.

12.12c For *adatta*, ātmanepda, see above on 3.7a.

12.20b For *dorveṇikayā*, "with the braid that was her arm", read *dorveṇukayā...atarjayata*, "he was threatened [by some girl] with the bamboo (=Hindī lāṭhī) that was her arm".

12.27d Instead of *parāsām* (gen. pl. f. *para*-, "the other one") read *parāsam* (acc. sing. of *parāsa*-m. "driving away") in order to get an object for *karoṣi*, as "which" *kim* is not suitable.

cd *kiṃ tuṅgavātāyanasaṅgatānām*  
*karoṣi mātsaryaparā parāsām ||*

"why do you, being keen on jealousy, cause driving away (*parāsa*) [of the girls] that have come together on the high roof platform".

12.45a It is preposterous to compare the king's body with the hight of the Himālaya : *vapus tuṣārācalatuṅgam asya*... "his body, high as the Himālaya".

For *tuṅga*, "high", read *raṅga*, "colour".

ab *vapus tuṣārācalatuṅgam asya*  
*vyarājad ālepanacandanena ||*

"His body appeared of the colour (*raṅga*) of

the snow mountain by the sandal that was his coating (with which he had smeared his body)".

- 12.69 The agent of *cakāra* is "he" the king. In the preceding verse, however, "some girl" (*kācana*) is the agent of the verb (*vilaṅghayām āsa*). As the change to a new subject (the king) would necessitate this to be named, verse 69 should be read before 68 and after 67, where *devaḥ* "the king" is explicitly given as the subject.
- 13.8a Emend *prabuddha*-to *pravṛddha*-; cp. *ed. ter.*, comm. where *prabuddha*-is explained by *pravṛddha*-under the requirement of the text : *pravṛddhakārśyāḥ...nimnagāḥ*, "the rivers whose leanness had grown big...". *prabuddha*- in 13.11d should also be emended to *pravṛddha*- by which it is again glossed in *ed. ter.*, commentary.
- 13.11 Previous attempts in translating the verse have been banal, since the poet's use of punning (*śleṣa*) in it could not find expression in them. The pun, how it should be understood and explained is as follows :

*nirantarā ghaṭṭitapāṭalādharāḥ*  
*kramān nidāghasya ghanoṣmasaṅginaḥ |*

*vyaraṁsiṣuḥ śvāsasamīraṇā iva*  
*prabuddha<sup>10</sup> dāvānalabandhavo' nilāḥ | |*

"The incessant (*nirantarāḥ*) winds that are the friends of the grown/big forest fires (i.e. that are accompanied by forest fires), that rubbed (violently shook) the *pāṭala*-trees (lit. "the bearer of the *Pāṭala*- blossoms"), that were in connection with (were accompanied by) violent heat—[that were] like the incessant breathings (*śvāsasamīraṇāḥ*) of the hot season [in the act of violent love-making], that are like grown forest

10. Read *pravṛddha*, see above on 13.8a,

fires (i.e. that are hot like forest-fires)<sup>11</sup>, that hurt (lit. violently rub) [his] red lips, that are accompanied by sibilants/hissings (in the effort to cool them)—in due course (*krāmāt*) came to a stop”.

- 13.18d According to Pāṇini the voc. sing. of *subhrū-* is *subhrūs*, since 1.4.4 forbids *bhrū-* to be called a *nadī* and thereby substitution of a short vowel in the vocative according to 7.3.107 (with subsequent loss of *s* according to 6.1.69). The vocative form *subhru* (also 13.32,35), however, is quite commonly used even by great poets : e.g. Kālidāsa, Kum. 5.43<sup>12</sup> ; Vikr. 3.2 ; Bhavabhūti, Mālatīm. 3.8 and also Bhaṭṭ. 6.11.

Historically this form is to be considered an analogical formation after the model of *vadhūs*, nom. sing. : *vadhu*, voc. sing. ; cp. also Wackernagel, Aitind. Gram., Bd. 3, para., 100f. Later indigeneous grammarians try by various methods to give a Pāṇi-an justification for the voc. sing. *subhru* (cp. e.g. Śaraṇadeva, Durghaṭavṛtti, 4.3.4=ed. L. Renou, vol. 1, p. 65 ; Padamañjarī on Kāśikā on Pāṇ. 1.4.4).

Other authorities think it unjustifiable (cp., e.g. Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, Siddhāntakau., Udantaprakaraṇa (before Pāṇ. 8.4.12) and more elaborately ; Śabda-kaustubha (Chowkhambā Sans. Ser. 2), p. 3 ; Vāmana, Kāvyaśāstrakārasūtra, 4.2.48).

- 13.36c *calad aṅkalīlayā* is understood by *ed. ter.* as “moving with the beauty of a seal”, which is impossible because *calat* n. cannot be construed with *vāridā-gamaḥ* m.. “With the beauty of the moving curved line” (Eng. rend.) is grammatically possible, but

11. In this case the compound ending in—*bandhavaḥ* is to be taken as *bahuvrīhi* “whose friends (i.e. equals) are. . .”.

12. On the discussion, see Saṃjīvanj of Mallinātha,

gives very poor sense. The text seems to be not correct. I propose : *caturaṅgalīlayā* :

*trṇāni bhūbhṛikaṣakeṣu nikṣīpan na kaiḥ sphura-*  
*dhīramydaṅganisvanaḥ |*

*taḍitpradīpaiḥ caladaṅkalīlayā nidāgham anvīṣy-*  
*ati vāridāgamaḥ | |*

“By which lamps, which are [its] lightnings, does not the rainy season search for the hot season, with the beauty (showing the splendour) of a [moving] army (*caturaṅga*), the sound of deep drums bursting forth from it, throwing down grass on the mountain slopes (or : the camps of the kings)” 713

- 13.37a For *ayaḥ*, “iron” (in earlier edd.), *ed. ter.* reads *ayaṃ*, “this” (taken from the *ed.* of Pt. Rāmāvatār Śarmā). *ayaḥśyāmala-*, “black as iron”, in itself would make good sense. Yet, since the description concerns here a single detail—one particular cloud—of the rainy season, *ayaṃ...vāridaḥ*, “this (particular) ...cloud”, seems called for. Cp. next verse ; *amī...payomucaḥ*, “those (particular) clouds”.

- 13.50b On *payomucām*, gen. pl., cp. on 2.81d above. *prastha-*, “mountain terrace” or “a particular measure” in *c* is punning (*śleṣa*). The line *mahāgiriprasthaśahasra-śodhitam...ambu* should be understood as :

- (i) “the water that was cleaned by thousands of terraces/slopes of big mountains” (the idea seems: the water is cleared by its falling down in cascades from one mountain terrace to the next one).
- (ii) “the water that was investigated (measured)<sup>14</sup> with 1000s of *prasthas* by the big mountains”.

13. “Throwing grass on” [the camps] is used in the sense of: making them left by the vanquished armies, cp. 9.113.

14. On *śodhayat-*, “to investigate, examine”, see 6.94.



- 14.44c Instead of *khalatvam*, “roguishness”, which cannot be construed unless one makes an arbitrary addition like “*tava niṣcitam eva*” (*ed. ter.*, *comm.*) and changes the nominative *vallabhah* into the vocative *vallabha*, read *tat khala tvam...vallabhah* “therefore thou, rogue, art the friend of ...”.
- 15.6b On *nāgarakhaṇḍa*, see below Chap. II, 10.
- 16.22c On *khaṇḍa*-, cp. above on 5.22.
- 17.29d *vibhūṣya*, “having decorated”, does not suit the context here. Read *vimūṣya*, “having stolen” (*Dhātup.* 1.707 *mūṣa steye*) :

b—d *cakāra tatraiva puraṇ sa pārthivaḥ |*  
*virīñcilokāt suralokataś ca yad*  
*vibhūṣya bhāgāv iva.....kṛtam | |*

“The king built just there a city, which was made [by him] as if he had stolen/robbed (*vimūṣya*) two pieces [one] from the world of Brahman, and [the other] from the world of the gods”.

Note that *ed. ter.* explains *vibhūṣya* by *alamkṛtya*, but gives in the end as the sense (*bhāva*) :.....*bhāgau grhītvā racitam*. ऋ and ऋ are easily confounded in the MS.

- 17.64c There is no such word as *rānta*-(*edd. sec.* and *ter.*) ; Bühler therefore conjectures *śānta*- which, however, does not yield good sense, since *pravīrakarṇtha-graḥśāntakautuka*-, would mean : “the desire that had ceased from embracing the great heros”.

Read *sāndra*, “intense, strong” (cp, 17.18 ; 18.52) : -*sāndrakautuka*-, “intense desire”, cp. Kum. 7.62 *tāsām...sāndrakutūhalānām*, “of those women whose desire/curiosity was intense”.

- 18.7d On *khaṇḍa-*, cp. above on 5.22.
- 18.20c *manasijakathāghātabhagnā yuvāṇaḥ* (in the MS. and subsequent edd.), "young men broken by the beatings of the love-stories" does not give good sense. More appropriate would be *manasijakaśāghātabhagna-* (cp. also 7.52 ; 12.26), "tormented by whip strokes by Kāma". ऋ and ॠ in Devanāgarī are often confused.
- 18.22c For *dolālīlātaralagatiṣu preṅkhitā yattaraṅgaiḥ*, which is not construable, read : *dolālīlātaralagatibhiḥ*, ("by those of the Jhelum waves) the movement of which is unsteady like that of an elegant swing".
- 18.30d On *lakṣībhavanti*, see above on 1.48.
- 18.35c For *krīḍā-* read *vrīḍā-*: *vrīḍālavaśabalitāḥ...dṛṣṭipātāḥ*, "glances that are variegated/disfigured by a little bit of shame". For an analogous idea compare 18.57 *savṛīḍobhūt*, "he felt ashamed". The idea seems that shame gives the eye a particular colour.  
On the colouring of the face caused by emotions, cp. Kāśikā on Pāṇ, 5.4.31 *lohitakaḥ kopena*, "he is red from wrath" ; *kālakaṁ mukhaṁ vailakṣyeṇa* "his face is black from shame" ; Śp. 206c *roṣakaśāyito-daradṛś-*, "whose eyes are made brownish by wrath".<sup>15</sup>
- 18.38c *śītabhīta-* proposed in *ed. sec.* (p.316) for *hāsabhīta-* (in other edd.) seems not to be required. *hāsabhīta-* "afraid of the laughter", gives good sense ; cp. 7.4 *śītartubhītyā*, "out of fear of the winter season".
- 18.48b For *vicarati* read *na carati* : *tyāgaḥ kāsāṁ na carati girāṁ gocare kāntakīrtiḥ*, "in the domain of which poetry does not move his liberality, which is of lovely glory" ?
- 18.65b For *gatiḥ* read *matiḥ* and construe : *yasya matir vādināṁ vākcāturye maunamudrā prasaratī*, "his (of

15. For a detailed discussion on this, cp. Lüders., Phil. Ind., p. 419 ff.

the king) thinking springs forth as a seal of silence on the cleverness of speech of the [disputing] scholars".

- 18.93c *yam* (acc. m.) cannot be construed with *vṛttam* n., as in *ed. ter.*, comm. It clearly must refer to Bilhaṇa, as the relative pronouns in the previous verses (18.90d, 91d, 92c) do. *vṛttam* must be analyzed as accusative of a masculine noun. Perhaps for *vṛttam* read *bhṛtyam* :

c ...so 'pi yaṃ prāpya bhṛityam

d *karṇaḥ...āsvādam antas tatāna* | |

"Even this King Karṇa enjoyed in his heart (Bilhaṇa's poetry) after having him got as his servant (court poet)".<sup>16</sup>

16. In the verse 18.95 Bilhaṇa tells of his victory in a contest over one Gaṅgādhara who presumably was his rival for the king's favour. Cp. also Kosambi, *Srk.*, Introd. p. 76.

## Some Lexicographical Points of Interest

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### 1. *aṅkura-m.*

*aṅkura-*, "a sprout, shoot", in the end of a compound :

- a) *ratnāṅkura-*, "a sproutlike jewel" (*ratnam aṅkura iva*)—"a new/young jewel"—"a small jewel" (MW. only from the Mṛcch.) : 1.18; 12.3; 15.77; *vyāghraṇakhāṅkura-* "a sprout like a tiger nail"—"a small tiger nail", tied around the neck of children, even now-a-days, as an amulet, to ward off the bad effect of an evil spirit, cp. Hindī *baghanā/baghanahā/baghanakhā*.<sup>1</sup> : 3.13.

- b) *radāṅkura-/dantāṅkura-* "sprout of the tooth/tusk" (*radasya/dantasyāṅkuraḥ*)—"tip of the tooth/tusk" (PW. and MW. only from Abhidhānaci. of Hemacandra, 297) : 17.50a *radāṅkuraprotam arātidantīnā* "pierced with the tip of its tooth/tusk by the enemy elephant";

17.56...*radāṅkurāḥ...tān mukufeṣṭv atāḍayan* "the tips of the teeth/tusks...struck at the diadems (helmets) [of the soldiers]".

More : literal "struck them (the soldiers) at their diadems (helmets)".

1.65cd *karīndradantāṅkuralekhanībhir  
alekhi.....vijayapraśastiḥ |*

1. *vyāghraṇakhāṅkura-* a kind of "medicinal herb" (Eng. rend.) to be tied around the neck of children, is probably a substitute for the real tiger nail, which for a king was more easier to obtain than for a common man.

“a victory inscription was written by the pens, which were the tips of the tusks of the elephants”.

2. Root *añc* “to bend” and denom. *añcayā* - “to mark”<sup>2</sup>

A. *añc* “to bend”

(a) *ni—añc* “to bend down” :

- 9.53 *mukhena lajjābhinayapragalbhā*  
*līlālavanyañcitakandhareṇa |*  
*pratyādiśantīva... ..*  
*... .. mṛgāṅkam ||*  
 [64a : āvirbabhūvātha paṇṇavarā]

“Putting as it were the moon in its place by her face, its neck<sup>3</sup> having been made to bend down a little..., she, clever at acting blashfulness, made her appearance.”

(b) *ud—añc* “to bend up” = “to rise, to raise (to arch)”;

1. of fluids :

- 2.55 *udañcadānandajalaplutekṣaṇas tataḥ...*  
*sa vallabhām.....atoṣayat | |*

“Then with eyes flooded with rising tears of joy, he delighted [his] beloved”.

- 11.67 *ity udañcitavilāsarasānām*  
*.....|*  
*jalpitāni.....sa śṛṇvan*  
*subhruvāṇ.....| |*

“When he listened to the talks of the lovely

2. Cp. 2.80d; for *areltam* in MSS. and *ed. pri.*, *añcitam* in *ed. sec.* (followed by *ed. ter.*) is done needlessly by the editor, obviously in silent reference to Pāṇ. 6.4.30 and 7.2. 53, yet Bilhaṇa has no example of *añcita* in this sense.
3. Usually the neck is thought to belong to the head, rather than to the face.

girls who thus had raised (that is : drawn up —from a well)<sup>4</sup> the flavour/fluid of charming behaviour”.

2. of things and animals :

7.52 *udañcayan kiṃśukapūṣpasūcīḥ.*  
...../  
*viyoginām nigrahanāya sajjah*  
*kāmāññayā dakṣiṇamāruto 'bhāt | |*

“By the order of Cupid the southern wind sprang up, ready for tormenting those separated [from their beloved ones]... raising up the needles, which were the kiṃśuka flowers.”

6.81cd *pratisubhaṭakapālāpātānāya*  
*dvīradam udañcayati sma rājasūnuḥ | |*

“The prince caused his elephant to rise in order to crush the heads of the enemy soldiers.”

12.3bc *udañcitan vāmapadam dadhāna |*  
*babhāra kāpi vratam ekapādam*

“Keeping her left foot raised up, some girl executed the vow of (standing on) one foot<sup>5</sup>...”

13.29cd *udañcaduccaṇḍataḍitkaras tviṣām*  
*adhīśam ity ākṣipatīva vāridaḥ | |*

The cloud, whose hand, the violent lightning, is rising up, scolds, as it were, the sun saying...”

4. K. Hoffmann, KZ 79, p. 171ff., has collected passages from Vedic texts where *ud—añc* “to draw (water)” is attested to. Whether his explanation of the connection between the ideas “to bend” (*añc*) and “to draw water” (*ud añc*) is correct, seems doubtful. Rather “to bend up (a leg etc.)” leads to “to raise”, which then was used with water as an object.
5. Cp. Śat. Br. 5.1.45 *pādam udacya tiṣṭhati* (K. Hoffmann, KZ 79, p. 171)

## 3. "to arch" (eye-brows) :

- 2.76 *udañcitabhṛūr mukharāṇi...vilokayāmāsa  
vibhūṣaṇāny api*

"(She) with [her] eye-brows raised/arched, looked even at the talkative ornaments".

*udañcita*, of course, p.p. of the caus.  
*ud—añcaya-* "to raise"<sup>6</sup>

- 8.77 *kiñcīt savibhramodañcibhrūlatā bhāti.....  
tarjayantīva yauvanam*

"Her eye-brows playfully raising somewhat, she appears as if threatening (scolding) youth".

- 9.84cd *udañcitabhṛūlatikāpatākam  
akāraṇād eva mukhaṃ cakāra ||*

"He made without any reason his face one in which the eye-brow-flags were raised."

- 10.33 *gūtaṃ sphuratpañcamam añcitabhru  
vilokitaṃ nūpurānisvanaś ca |  
nṛpāṅganāyās trayam etad āsīt  
trailokyārājye madanasya śāstram ||*

"Her singing, in which the fifth note thrilled/sounded, her glance, in which the eye-brows were curved (raised), the jingling of her anklets—these three things of the princess were the weapons of Cupid in his royal rule over the three worlds".

## 4. metaphorically

- 15.36cd *...yad udñcayati sma sādhyasaṃ  
jagatāṃ..... ||*

"which (army) raised fear (produced fear) in the world".

6. Wrongly does Kuiper, *Vāk* 2, p. 36ff, derive *añcita-* from the present stem *añc-*: the p.p. is in Sanskrit- differently to vernacular procedure—never derived from a present stem, but always from the root. Only exception : the stem of the causatives and denominatives.

- 2.54cd *udañciromāñcatayā samantataḥ*<sup>7</sup>  
*sa śaityasamparkam iva nyavedayat*

"He (the king) by the manifestation of horripilation/bristling of hair all around indicated, as it were, contact with coolness".

*udañcin* derived from *udañca-* m. "raising up (not in dictionaries).

Literally : "by the condition of one in whom horripilation was characterised by raising up".

B. *añcaya-* "to mark, characterise"<sup>8</sup>

- 7.50 *unnidrapaṅktisthitacampakāni*  
*cakāśire kelivanāntarāṇi |*

*viyoginīnām kavalīkṛtānām*  
*suvarṇakāñcībhir ivāñcitāni | |*

"The interiors of the parks, whose campaka- trees standing in rows, were fully bloomed (with yellow-golden flowers), appeared as if marked by the golden belts of jilted lonely girls [who intended to hang themselves by their belts]".

- 13.21 *...anekavarṇāñcitam...indrakārmukam*

"the rainbow marked (characterised by) several colours".

- 17.50 *...mukhaṁ.....pulakotka. añcitam*

"a face marked by horripilation".

7. Ed. *prī. samam tataḥ*.

8. A denomination of *añka-* "mark, characteristic sign". Cp. *recaya-* "to make into a line" denom. of *rekṣā-* ; P. Thieme, *Kleine Schriften*, Teil 2, p. 79f.



3. *ā r y a-*

*ārya-* m., "lord, master", used in the sense of an "elder brother" in 4.86, 108. Cp. P. Thieme, *KZ*, 79, 1965, S. 246 (=Kleine Schriften, Bd. I, S. 227)

4. Root *k u c* (+ *s a m*)

*sam—kuc* means, in contradistinction to *vi—kuc*, "to open (like flower)"—"to close, to shrink, to shrink back". Thus in 1.66.....*te viṣṇoḥ pratiṣṭheti vibhīṣaṇasya rāḥye param<sup>9</sup> samkucitā babbhūvuh* "they (the kings of the Chaulukya family) shrank, however, with respect to the kingdom of Vibhīṣaṇa (Ceylon) (i.e. they shrank back from entering it) [thinking] it is the standing point/domain of Viṣṇu".<sup>10</sup> Cp. also 1.27 ; 9.115 ; 12.53 ; 16.1 ; 18.53 etc.

5. *k ṛ i t a k ṣ a ṇ a-*

*kṛtakṣaṇa-* lit. "having made the leisure" is used in the sense of "having taken the time to learn":<sup>11</sup>

- 7.36 *kramāl lipijñānakṛtakṣaṇasya*, "of him who had taken time to learn, in due course, the knowledge of writing". Cp. also 9.13 ; 13.41 ; 14.35 ; 16.4. *kṛtakṣaṇa-* is synonymous to *vihitakṣaṇa-* 9.13 *pracchādanārthaṁ vihitakṣaṇaḥ*, "he who had taken the time to learn, to conceal (his feelings)", cp. MW. s. v.

6. *k e y ū r a -*

*keyūra -* "armlet" (1.49; 3.72; 9.88) has been explained by

9. *param* obviously not used in the sense of *kevalam* (ed. ter., comm.) here. Cp. also 1.85; 2.30; 4.30; 7.19; 7.65 15.72; *yadī param* "if at all" (PW="wenn überhaupt").

10. Bilhaṇa's statement seems to be historically correct, since no king of the Chaulukya dynasty undertook military expeditions to Ceylon. In any case Bühler's understanding of 1.66 ("narrow was the realm of Vibhīṣaṇa" : Introd., p. 26) cannot be accepted.

11. Cp. Lat. *schola* "leisure" and "school",

"bracelet" in the Eng. rend. Although Amarak. 2.2.107 equates *keyūra-* with *aṅgada-*, there is some difference between *keyūra-* "armlet" (worn on the upper arm) and *aṅgada-* "bracelet" (worn on the forearm), as appears from their being distinguished in *Rāmāyaṇa*, 2.32.8 ; 6.3.43 ; MBh., *Udyogaparvan*, 6.3.43 ; *Sāhityadarpa*., 10.46 (*keyūrikṛtam aṅgadam* "a bracelet that turned into an armlet"). *keyūra-* is also distinguished from *kaṅkaṇa-* in *Srk*. 713 (attributed to *Rajaśekhara*)...*keyūrikṛtakaṅkaṇa-*, "one whose bracelet was transformed into an armlet".

#### 7. *carmacakṣus-*

*carmacakṣus-* is not recorded in the standard lexica,<sup>12</sup> and is left unexplained in the Eng. rend. There are two instances of its occurrence in *Bilhaṇa* : *Vcar*. 5.5 and *Karṇasu*. 2/9/11. In both these passages, *carmacakṣus-* ought to be analysed as a *bahubrihi* : *carmaṇi cakṣur yasya saḥ* "he whose eye is [only] in his skin", meaning "having [only] a carnal eye", as opposed to the *jñānacakṣus-* (= *divyacakṣus-*, *atīndriya-*) "whose eye is in his knowledge", i.e. having power to know things beyond perception of the senses. An actual occurrence of this confrontation is *Gaṇeśagītā* 8.4 (ASS. 52).

It seems to be a rare word, to be met with otherwise only in some late commentaries : e.g. *Mallinātha* on *Śiśu*. 1.37 ; *Kavīndrasarasvatī* in his *Padacandrikā*, on *Daś*. *Pūravapīṭhikā*, 2. *Ucchv*. (N. S. ed., Bombay 1951, p. 28) where *jñānekṣaṇagamyamānaḥ* "to be reached by one whose eye is in his knowledge" is explained by : *jñānekṣaṇena na tu carmacakṣuṣā gamyamānaḥ*.

In other passages *carmacakṣus-* ought to be analysed as *tatpuruṣa* : *carmaṇi cakṣuḥ* "eye in the skin", meaning "a

12. The only lexicon, known to me so far, which records this word is the *Abhidhānarājendrakōṣa* by *Vijayarājendrasūri*, vol. 3 s.v. (instanced from the *Aṣṭaka* by *Yaśovijaya* : *carmacakṣurbhūte* "one whose eyes are in his skin [only]" (*bahuvrihi*)).

carnal eye" : Śrīdharācārya on Bhag. 11.8 *anenaiva-tusvīyena carmacakṣuṣā māṇ draṣṭuṃ na śakyate* "It is not possible to perceive Me by [your] carnal eye alone". S. Radhakrishnan (Eng. Tr. of Bhag.) quotes the verse

*māyā hy eṣā mayā sṛṣṭā/  
yaṇ māṇ paśysi nārada  
sarvabhūtaguṇair yuktaṃ  
na tu māṇ draṣṭuṃ arhasi |*

from Mokṣadharma and Madhusūdana, who, commenting on it, says : *sarvabhūtaguṇair yuktaṃ kāraṇa-pādhiṇ māṇ carmacakṣuṣā draṣṭuṃ nārhasi*.<sup>13</sup>

*Vcar. 5.5 sa vyasarjayad atha kvathanmanāḥ  
puṣkalaṃ balam amuṣya prṣṭhataḥ/  
kiṃ na sambhavati carmacakṣuṣāṃ  
karma lubdhamanasām asāttvikam |*

must then be translated as follows :

"Then he, of boiling mind, sent after him a numerous army. What dishonest action is not possible for those whose eyes are in their skin [only] (i.e. who are possessed of carnal eyes only and thus devoid of moral insight) [and] whose minds are greedy."

#### 8. *citraśālā* -

*citraśālā*- (4.30) "hall with paintings", also *citraveśman*- (9.35) "room with paintings", provided with *vilāśbhittis* "pleasure wall paintings" (9.15). Cp. Hindī *cittarasārī* <sup>14</sup> wall painting" Skt. *citraśālīya*.

13. It seems doubtful whether the purport of the verse is correctly explained. The second line appears rather to say ; "you ought not to look upon Me as provided with the qualities of all [=of any of] the [material] elements".

14. V. S. Agrawala, *Melanges d'Indiānisme ; A la Memoire de Louis Renou*, p. 14,

9. *cīnapīṣṭa-*

*cīnapīṣṭa-* "vermilion, red lead" (3.61; 14.68) and attested in Kathās., 23.85, seems to be used in particular by Kāśmīrian poets. *sindūra-*, a synonym of *cīnapīṣṭa-*, is in 12.70 also used for decorating elephants; cp. also *cīnāmśuka-* "China texture" (=silk).

10. *nāgarakhaṇḍa-*

*nāgarakhaṇḍa-* (1.64; 15.6), possibly written for *nāgarasāṇḍa-* (cp. above p. 9 on *khaṇḍa-/saṇḍa-*), is unknown to the dictionaries (cp. remark in Eng. rend. on 1.64). Since *nāgara-* is quite common as a designation of a kind of ginger, *nāgarkhaṇḍa-* might be taken as "piece of ginger" (cp. Stein's remark in Eng. trans. of Rājat. 7.194). A close examination, however, shows that the word is a name of a creeper from which a particular betel leaf was taken or the designation of this betel leaf itself.

Characteristic seems Vcar. 1.64 : ...*nāgarakhaṇḍa-cumbipūgadruma-* "areca-nut trees touching *nāgarakhaṇḍas*".<sup>15</sup> Cp. also

15.6ab *subhaṭaḥ pramadākarārpitaṃ*  
*dalayan nāgarakhaṇḍavīṭikām |*

"A soldier cracking a *nāgarakhaṇḍa* roll (Hindī : *bīḍā*), offered him by the hand of his beloved one."

Other occurrences of this word : Śambhukavi, Anyoktimuktālatā (KM. 2), v. 6 : *pakvaṃ nāgarakhaṇḍa-pallavam* "a ripe sprout of the *nāgarakhaṇḍa*"; Skm. 2081, ascribed to Rājaśekhara : *parṇaṃ nāgarakhaṇḍam ārdra-subhagam* "a green beautiful leaf of the *nāgarakhaṇḍa*".

<sup>15</sup> Description of areca-nut trees kissing betel-creeper here, and betel-creeper embracing the areca-nut trees elsewhere (cp. Ragb. 6.64; Viddha, 4.11), symbolises love union,

Even in Rājat. 7.194 *nāgarakhaṇḍa*- "a particular betel leaf" (thus tr. R.S. Paṇḍit is superior to "ginger piece" (tr. M.A. Stein).

In fact *nāgaraṣaṇḍa*- is in modern Gujarātī language a designation of a particular betel leaf. It seems necessary, then, to correct the orthography of our MSS. (*nāgarakhaṇḍa*-) and read *nāgaraṣaṇḍa*-, when it means "betel creeper or leaf".

Probably *nāgaraṣaṇḍa*- corresponds to what in Hindī is known as *nāgarīpān*, cf. Hindī - Śabdasāgar, vol. 5, s.v. This is considered to be a superior quality of betel in some areas of the Indian subcontinent. Cp. the Gujarātī saying: *pānamāhi nāgaraṣaṇḍa pāna* "amongst *Pān* (Piper betel) *Nāgaraṣaṇḍa* is the [ best ] *Pān*".<sup>16</sup> *Karpūravallī*, Vcar. 9. 60, in Hindī known as *kapurī*, is another variety of betel, yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but of good taste and smell.<sup>17</sup>

*nāgarīpān* and *kapurīpān* are perhaps cultivated<sup>18</sup> betels and liked by the eaters for their particular smell, i.e. of ginger and camphor<sup>19</sup> respectively.

# 11. *pāthonidhi* -

*pāthonidhi*- (*pāthas*- *nidhi*-) "ocean" (1.11, 109)

16 Sandesara, B.G. ed., *Varṇakasamuccaya*, pt. 1, Baroda: M.S. University 1956, p. 167, 1.10.

17 Abū-l-Faẓl 'Allāmi, *Ain-I-Akbarī*, tr. from the original Persian, by H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873, vol. 1, pp. 72-73.

18 This may be inferred from the designation *nāgara*-, which is the contrary of *āraṇya*- "wild, growing wild", see P. Thieme, *Kleine Schriften*, Teil 2, p. 718.

19 Camphor as an ingredient of betel chewing is attested widely from literature, cp. Vcar. 9.82; Caurap. (Tadpatrikar, ed.) v. 9; Suśr. *Sūtrasthāna* 149; *Yogarātnākara* 5.58. The Borneo camphor is called "eatable camphor" (*da mangiare*) by Barbosa and other writers because it is used in medicine and with betel. (Yule and Burnell, p.116). For further details on camphor, cp. da Orta, Garcia, *Samples and Drugs of India*, ed. and annot. by Conde de Ficalho, London, 1913; W. H. Schoff, *JAOS* 42, p. 355 ff.

occurs occasionally in classical literature. It is an example of Vedicism in the style of Bilhaṇa. The word *pāthas-* was explained as "water" (e.g. by Nir. 8. 17; Uṇādis. 4.23; Amarak. 1.2.3). The proper Vedic meaning of *pāthas-* was discussed by E. Sieg, *Gurupūjākaumudī*, p. 97 ff. ("drinkable food", then "food" in general); otherwise Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 54 (1900), p. 599 ff. = Kleine Schriften, Teil 1, p. 99 ff. It is interesting to note that many Vedic words were revived in classical literature, and used in a sense that was assigned to them by Yāska.

## 12. *pratiṣṭhā-*

*pratiṣṭhā-* "likeness, sameness" is an idiomatic use of Bilhaṇa, not recorded in lexica :

1.35cd *bimbaṃ dadhe bimbaphalapraṭiṣṭhāṃ*  
*rājīvinījīvītavallabhasya*

"the orb of him who is the lover of the lotuses (i.e. the sun) took the likeness of a bimba fruit".

1.41 ...*ātapattram...kuraṅganābhīlākapraṭiṣṭhāṃ... samā-rohati*, "the umbrella climbs up / acquires the likeness of a *tilaka* of musk".

There are some instances where *pratiṣṭhā-* is used in its literal sense, as a derivation of *prati-* *sthā* "to stand against", meaning "footing, standing" : 1.57ab *kṣmābhṛtkulānām upari pratiṣṭhām avāpya* "having gained footing above the family of the kings / mountains" ;

1.66cd *viṣṇoḥ pratiṣṭheti vibhīṣaṇasya*  
*rājye paraṃ saṃkucitā babhūvuḥ*

"they shrank / refrained from [entering], however, with respect to the kingdom of Vibhīṣaṇa (Ceylon) [thinking] : it is' the standing point / domain of Viṣṇu".

Cp. also 3.17; 16.29 : *parā pratiṣṭhā* "firmest stand"; 1.79 *kulapraṭiṣṭhā-* "firm stand of a family"; 18.59 :

*śāstrapratīṣṭhā*- “firm footing in the [ traditional ] teaching”.

It seems that *pratīṣṭhā*- in the sense of “likeness” is derived from “reflection [ in a mirror ]”, lit. “what takes its stand [ in the mirror ]”. Compare

6.48ab *pratīphalanānibhāt sahasrabhāsā*  
*maṇimayapalyayanapratīṣṭhitena...*

“by the sun, sitting under the pretext of reflection, on the saddle made out of jewels”.

13. *bhaṅgi* - / *bhaṅgī* -

*bhaṅgi*- / *bhaṅgī*- f. in instrumental case : 1.1. *pāñcajanya* *pratibimbabhaṅgyā* “under the semblance of the reflection of the *Pāñcajanya*” (cp. also 1.49, 108; 3.24, 62; 6.94; 7.45; 9.26, 34, 59; 10.10, 42; 12.51; 18.19) is used interchangeably with *miṣeṇa* (2.4, 64; 5.67; 6.41, 49; 8.87), *vyājena* (3.70), *chalena* (2.65, 66; 4.4; 5.69; 15.13), *śaṅkayā* (18.10), and *nibhena* (9.56, 147), all of which indicate the poetic figure *utprekṣā* “poetic fancy”.

*bhaṅgi*- / *bhaṅgī*- is used outside of an *utprekṣā* in the sense of “semblance (beautiful appearance, show, splendour)” :

12.44 *candanacārulekhā... dadhāra* *sphaṭikaliṅgabha-*  
*ṅgīm*

“the beautiful mark of the sandal-paste [on the forehead] bore the semblance of a crystal [ Śiva- ]  
liṅga” (cp. also 9.105; 11.73, 78; 13.25, 32;  
15.4).<sup>20</sup>

*bhaṅgī*-, when applied to the action of dancing, amounts to “beautiful show / performance” : 13.24 *taḍīdvadhūlāsya* *rahasya* *bhaṅgiṣu* “in the beautiful performances of the dances of the lightning-women”.

20 In view of these passages, MW. (s.v. *bhaṅgi*) records “mode, manner, way” for *bhaṅgi*-, referring to Vcar. in particular,

The usage corresponds most closely to that of *śobhā*- "beautiful appearance, show, illusion".<sup>21</sup>

It seems that *bhaṅgī*- developed from "illusion" to "beautiful semblance" as *śobhā* from beauty to "illusion".<sup>22 23</sup>

#### 14. *muktā* -

*muktā*- "pearl" (1.79 etc.) is interesting here for its etymological derivation. Among several suppositions, offered by the scholars, most appealing and convincing is that given by Lüders (cf. KZ 42, 193 ff.=Philologica Indica, 179-83). According to him it is a wrong sanskritization of vernacular *muttā*- "pearl". In Pāli or Prākṛit *muttā*- is a feminine of the p.p. *mutta*- (Sanskrit *mūrtā*-) of *mūrchatī* "congeals". (Cp. also P. Thieme, Language, 31.3, p. 441=Kleine Schriften, (1971) Teil 2, p. 709 : against Burrow's Sanskrit Language (1955), p. 385, who thinks *muktā*- a loan from Dravidian).

The compound *muktāphala*- "pearl" (9.50) a common substitute of the earlier *muktā* in classical literature, was investigated by Lüders (*loc. cit.*) and shown to be a tautological expression: the second component of the compound *phala*- "congelation". (from *phalati* "congeals, gets thick, ripens", distinct from the denominative *phalati* "bears fruit") is synonymous to the first component *muktā*- "congelation". Cp. also P. Thieme, Language (*loc. cit.*)=Kleine Schriften (*loc. cit.*).

21 From *śobhā*- in this sense is derived *śaubhika*, 'shadow player'; cp. Lüders, Philologica Indica, p. 391 ff.

22 It would appear likely that a *bhaṅgī*- 'illusion' derives from *bhaṅga*- "hemp, hemp leaf". In this case the correct orthography ought to be \**bhāṅgī*- "the condition (*avasthā*) caused by hemp". *bhaṅgī*- 'step' and \**bhāṅgī*- would have been confounded in writing. Cp. *luṣṭ* : *luṣ* (see below p. 40), *khaṇḍa*- : *ṣaṇḍa*- see above p. 9, *kaṇṭakī*- : *kaṇṭakī*- (Smk. 4.27).

23 *bhaṅgu*- m., recorded in MW. from Vcar. as a name of a demon or of a mountain, is not attested in any extant work of Bilhana.



15. *m u g d h a-*

*mugdha-* adj., primarily "confused", comes to be used in the sense of "naive, simple, tender, beautiful" etc., *mugdha-* may be an antonym of *prauḍha-* "bold, strong, mighty, sexually experienced (said of a woman)". Conversely *mugdha-*, when negated (i.e. *amugdha-*), stands in synonymy with *prauḍha-*. In a verse like *amugdhābhyo mṛṇālībhyaḥ* (8.64) "from grown up lotus stalks" it means that which is not "simple" in the sense of "naive, tender" (*sarala*=*mugdha*).

*amugdha-* in 2.9, qualifying the *dugdhābdhi-*, "the milk ocean", seems to be meant in the sense of "strong, mighty, luxuriant [because of yet being possessed by the valuables which were churned out of it by gods and demons]". The explanation of *amugdha-* by *svaccha-*, "clear", in *ed. ter. comm.* is hardly defensible.

*mugdha-* as a second member of a compound "beautiful as..." amounts to "strikingly similar to" : Vcar. 12.58 *pāthasi dugdhamugdha-* "in the water [that was] strikingly similar to milk"; 15.28 ...*śuktibhiḥ śaśimugdhābhiḥ* "by shells strikingly like the moon"; Karpasu. 1. 18 *sudhāmugdhair aṅgaiḥ* "by [her] limbs which were strikingly similar to nectar".

16. Roots *l u ṇ ṭ h* "to rob", *l u ṭ (h)* 1 to "roll" and *l u ṭ h* 2. "to strike, beat against".

The dictionaries know a root *luṭ* "to roll, wallow" and a root *luṭh* "to roll, wallow".<sup>24</sup> It seems that the latter form though wide-spread, is actually only a wrong spelling for *luṭ* (cp. Hindī *loṭnā* "to roll, wallow" against *luṭhnā* "to be robbed", Skt. *luṇṭh*).<sup>25</sup> In the following

24 W. D. Whitney, *Roots, Verb-Forms and Primary Derivations of the Sanskrit Language*, Leipzig 1885, only *l u ṭ h* 'roll'.

25 Also cp. the root *luḍ*, which is Prākṛt for *luṭ* and then retaken into Sanskrit : *ā-loḍaya-* 'to churn' Vcar., 4.19,96; *loḍana-* 'churning', 1.90; 6.68. From this *luḍ* is to be derived *lola* 'rolling, moving', cf. 11.79 *gaṇḍasthalavilulitabāṣpa-* 'tears have begun to roll on the cheeks'. For *ḍ*, *l*, *l* between vowels, see Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, p. 546ff.

the verb for "to roll, wallow" will be spelt throughout as *luṭ(h)* (meaning the invariable MS. spelling *luṭh*), the verb for "to strike, beat against", will be spelt *luṭh* (in agreement with the MSS).<sup>26</sup>

A. *l u ṭ h* "to rob"

- 1.11 b-d    *karṇāmṛtaṃ rakṣata..... |*  
                   *yad asya.....luṭhanāya*  
                   *kāvyārthacaurāḥ praguṇibhavanti | |*

"Protect the nectar of the ears (your poetry)...., because the thieves of the property which is poetry are becoming expert in (lit. for) robbing / stealing (*luṭh*) it..."

- 1.84ab        *yātrāsu dikpālapurīm viluṭhya*  
                   *na diggajān kevalam āgrahīd yaḥ |*

"who having looted (*vi* with *luṭh*), on his expeditions, the city of the guardians of the quarters, did not seize / conquer the quarter elephants only..."

- 1.115        *pṛthvībhujaṅgaḥ parikampitāṅgīm*  
                   *yaśaḥpaṭolluṭhanakelikāraḥ |*  
                   *vidhṛtya kāñcīm bhujayor balena*  
                   *yaś colarājyaśriyam ācakarṣa | |*

"Who, as the paramour of the earth (=as a king) snatched / raped by the strength of his arms the royal fortune / the Fortuna of the kingdom of the Colas, whose army<sup>27</sup> had been shaken / whose limbs had started to tremble,<sup>28</sup> after he had opened<sup>29</sup>

26 The spelling *luṭ* for *luṭh* 'to strike' does, however, occur elsewhere; cp. PW. s. v. *luṭ*.

27 An army consists of four *aṅgas*, thus *aṅga-* stands here for *caturāṅga-* 'army'.

28 I take *kampita-* to be p.p. of the causative *kampaya-* when applied to the army and p.p. of the root *kamp* when applied to the body of Fortuna.

29 Read *vivṛtya* instead of *vidhṛtya*; cp. Bühler, *Introd.*, p. 45, on the difficulty of distinguishing *ṛ* and *ṛ* in the MS.

Kāñci<sup>30</sup> / her belt, indulging in the sport of robbing (ud with luṇṭh) it (the capital) / her (the Fortuna) of its flags / of her [white] cloth (dress) that was its/ her [white] fame / honour."

4.16bd ...tatsainyaluṇṭhitāḥ...payasāṃ nidhiḥ ||

"...the ocean that was robbed [of it pearls] by his (the king's) soldiers..."

6.24 b-d .....sa..... /  
nayanaculukaḥluṇṭhyamāna<sup>31</sup> kāntir  
draviḍavadhūbhiḥ..... ||

"...he (the king) whose beauty was robbed (stolen ; i.e. taken away by stealth) in the bowls that were their eyes by the women of the Draviḍas..."

8.65d<sup>32</sup> ...mṛṇālīkīrtiluṇṭhanam

"...The robbing/stealing of the fame of the lotus root."

14.54ab kvāpi dāham aparatra luṇṭhanam  
bandhanam kvacid adāj janasya saḥ |

"He conferred on the people in some place burning [of their cities], in another places looting (luṇṭhana), in some places captivity..."

18.42 ...no kāyasthaiḥ kuṭilalipibhir no..... /  
na.....luṇṭhitā.....ca  
.....yat samgrhītā  
lakṣmīḥ..... |

"The fortune acquired by him was robbed (luṇṭhitā) neither by Kāyasthas, whose writing is crooked, nor by...nor by..."

30 The capital of the Colas.

31 On Bühler's spelling *luṇṭhyamāna*, see below note on 3.76 and further on *luṇṭhyamāna* in 2.90.

32 Cp. below Chap. III on 8.65 for the verse being quoted in Skm. 8.50

B. *luṭ* (h) 1. "to roll"

- 1.67cd. ...*tuṣārādrītaṭe luṭ(h) antaḥ śītena khinnās turagāḥ*...  
 "horses became tormented by the cold (snow) when rolling/wallowing on the slopes of the Himālaya".

1.71 *yasya*.....  
 .....*jāne dhavalatvam āpuḥ |*  
*arātīnārīśarakāṇḍapāṇḍu -*  
*gaṇḍasthālīnīrluṭ(h)anād yaśāṃsi ||*

"Whose fame...became white, I fancy, because of its rolling (*niḥ - luṭ(h)*<sup>33</sup>) on the cheeks, white as sugar-cane stalks<sup>34</sup> [from grief], of the wives of the enemies."

This is an *utprekṣā*, that is : a poetical fancy, not a description of a real happening. The Poet imagines the fame (actually : "the fames") of the king to roll/wallow on the cheeks in a feeling of exuberance, like say, those horses of verse 1.67 (cp. also 7.37). In reality "fame" is always thought to be white by nature, it need not become white.

3.24 *uccaiḥ sthitaṃ tasya kirīṭaratnaṃ*  
*tejoḍhanānām upari sthitasya |*  
*kṣamām iva prārthayitum luloṭ(h)a*  
*saṃkrāntibhaṅgyā maṇipādapiṭhe ||*

"His (the king's) crown-jewel, which had its place above him, who had his place above all [other] resplendent ones, rolled on his jewel foot-stool under the pretext of [its own] reflection - as if to beg pardon [for its impertinence]."

Rolling at somebody's foot is a sign of self-humiliation ;  
 cp. 6.91.

33 Cp. *nīrluṭ(h)ana* : 5.3.

34 For whiteness of (ripe) sugar-cane stalks cp. e.g. Viddh. 1<sup>32</sup><sub>33</sub>...  
*pāripākapāṇḍurāṇām śarakāṇḍānām.*

4.43c *kathayām āsa nāsāgra-  
viluṭ(h)ad<sup>35</sup> bāṣpaśīkaraḥ ||*

"...he said while a shower of tears rolled to the tips of his nose".

4.70cd ...*ruroda vapuṣā bhūpṛṣṭhaluṭ(h)itena saḥ ||*

"he wept with his body rolling on the ground".

Rolling on the ground is a sign of intense grief;  
cp. 11.6.

5.3c *talpanirluṭ(h)anaśīrṇacandanaḥ*

"he whose sandal paste had gone on account of his rolling (*niḥ - luṭ(h)*), on his bed in the nights".

5.49c *oṣṭhapṛṣṭhaluṭ(h)itasmitāñcalaḥ*

"on the back of whose lips the fringe of a smile had begun to roll".

6.91ab *ubhayanarapatipratāpalakṣmyau  
viluluṭ(h)atuś caraṇadvaye tadīye |*

"Both the kings' majesties rolled round (*vi- luṭ(h)*) at his feet".

Cp. on 3.24

7.37b *luloṭ(h)apuṣpotkarareṇupuñje*

"...he (the spring season) rolled/wallowed in the heap of the pollen of the many flowers...".

7.44ab *viyoginīnām.....luloṭ(h)a kaṇṭheṣu līlākalapañcamo  
yaḥ|*

"The soft fifth note that rolled (thrilled) in the throats of the women...".

Cp. e.g. *Viddh. 1.27...kaṇṭhe lolayantaḥ parabhṛt-  
avayasāṃ pañcamaṃ rāgarājam...samīrāḥ dākṣ-  
iṇātyāḥ.*

35 Instead of *viluṭ(h)ad* "rolling round" (cp. 6.91) read *niluṭ(h)ad* "rolling down"? Cp. on 12.76.

Cp. on 13.87.

11.6ab *krandati sma...luṭ(h)ati sma*

“he cried, he rolled around on the ground”.

Cp. on 4.70

11.51a-c *sapraṇāmam iva pāṇigatebhyaḥ saṇmukhaṇi viluṭ(h)itā caṣakebhyaḥ.....madirā.....*

“the wine rolling<sup>36</sup> towards them from the drinking cups in their hands as if bowing down in salutation”.

12.76cd... *pāṇḍugaṇḍasthalaviluṭ(h)itabāṣpa-<sup>37</sup>...*

tears that began to roll on the yellow cheeks”.

Instead of *viluṭ(h)ita*-read *niluṭ(h)ita*?

Cp. on 4.43.

13.35cd *kṣītau luṭ(h)antaḥ...navābhrabindavaḥ*

“new rain drops rolling on the earth”

13.87c *mattairāvaṇakaṇṭhagarbhaviluṭ(h)adgambhīragarjāghanaḥ*

“strong as the deep roaring sound rolling inside the throat of Airāvaṇa (Indra’s elephant) in rut”.

Cp. the English idiom “Rolling thunder”. Somewhat similar seems the idea of the “rolling (=thrilling) fifth note” in 7.44.

14.52ab *...dvīpaghaṭāḥ kaṣasthalī nirluṭ(h)adbahaladānanirjharāḥ*

“multitudes of elephants, with streams of thick rut rolling (*niḥ* - *luṭ(h)*) on their temples”.

14. 63ab *prṣṭhanirluṭ(h)itabhūmireṇavas tasya vāraṇavarā virejire*

“his excellent elephants, with the dust of the ground having rolled on their backs, appeared [like...]”

36 *Ed. ter. comm.*, incorrectly glossed *viluṭ(h)itā* by *viluṭhita* ‘robbed’.

37 Cp. 11.79 *gaṇḍasthalavilulitabāṣpa*- ‘tears have begun to roll on the cheeks’; *lulita*- Sanskritized Prakṛt *luḍita*-/*luṭita*=Skt. *luṭita*- ‘rolled’.

- 18.43 *śrīkāśmīrakṣitibhuji gate vaśyatām yadguṇānām  
ūhuś cintāklamaparicayaṃ kāni nāntaḥpurāṇi |  
svacchā kīrtir nabhasi bisinipattramitre luloṭ(h)a*

*ścyotaddhārāsailam akarod dhāma lakṣmīḥ  
kṛpāṇam ||*

“When the king of Kashmir had become a slave of her (the queen Subhaṭa’s) excellent qualities, which of his harem-wives did not acquire familiarity with the exhaustion of worry[because he did not care for them any more]. His spotless (resplendent) fame (*Kīrti*) [formerly also a ‘beloved one’ of his, for whom he does not care any more] rolled<sup>38</sup> on the lotuslike (blue nymphaea is intended) sky (i.e. the dark night sky). His fortune (*Lakṣmī*) (formerly also a “beloved one of his) took as her dwelling his sword, from which there drops the water of the blade (its shine)<sup>39</sup>”.

- 18.51cd .....*bhūbhujāṇi vallabhā śrīḥ  
khaḍge yasya dvipamadamaṣīpaṅkalipte luloṭ(h)a ||*

“Royal fortune ; who was the beloved of the kings, rolled on his sword that was smeared with the bog (=the black bog) that was the ink that was the rut of the elephants”.

Cp. on 4.70.

- 18.66ab ...*taruṇyaḥ...bāṣpapaṅke luṭ(h)anti*

“the young girls roll in the bog of tears”.

Cp. on 18.51.

C. *luṭ h* 2. “to strike, to beat against (*upaghāte*, *pratighāte*)

38 Cp. on 4. 7d. Possibly the poet thinks of the fame as being in the shape of the stars that roll/turn round the polar star.

39 Probably the poet thinks of the tears of Lakṣmī as the ‘water of the blade’.

- 1.61a.c ...*śatrukaṭhorakaṇṭha piṭhāsthinirloṭhanakuṇṭhadhārah* |  
 .....*kṛpāṇaḥ* ... ..

"the sword whose edge was blunt through its beating asunder (*niḥ* - *loṭhana*) the hard bones of the basis of the necks of the enemies".

- 7.71cd ... ..*drāviḍinām* |  
*karpūrapāṇḍugaṇḍasthalaluṭhitarayā*... *vāyavaḥ*... ||

"the winds, whose vehemence was beaten off (*luṭh*) by the cheeks, yellow through camphor, of the Draviḍa women".

- 10.86ab *narendralīlākaraṇyantravārī luloṭha devyāḥ kucakumbhapīṭhe* |

"The water from the play fountain that was the king's hand beat against the pot that was the breast of the queen".

- 15.65ab *tam...turaṅgavāhinī haṭhanirloṭhanabaddhakautukam* |  
 "him who had formed a wish to beat asunder (to utterly destroy) by force the cavalry army."

#### D. Doubtful or ambiguous spellings

- 2.90 *cañcac*<sup>40</sup> *cāraṇadīyamānakanakaṃ saṃnadhagīta-*  
*dhavani*  
*sphūrjadgāthakaluṇṭhyamānakaraṭaprārabdha-*  
*nṛttotsavaṃ* |

.....*kṣmābhartur āsīd grham* ||

"The king's palace...was one in which gold was being given to alternately reciting bards, in which the sound of singing was connected (continuous), in which the (male) singers were bursting forth (starting loud songs), in which drums were beaten, in which a festival of dancing had started."

The MS. reads *karāṭi*-, which would be "elephant". If this is adopted, no acceptable sense can be worked out from the text : "where elephants were being

40 For *cañcac*- ('jumping') read *carcac*- ('repeating, alternating'), see above, p. 4,



robbed" cannot be twisted into "were carried away" (i. e. fascinated<sup>41</sup> [by the singers]) as interpreted by Eng. rend., apart from it that elephants are not known to enjoy music. We have to follow Bühler in correcting - *karāṣi* - into - *karāṣa* -, which is - not only "temple [of an elephant]", but also— "particular musical instrument" (Medini : *karato vādyabhede*, in PW. s. v.), which fits in the context well. This musical instrument, of course, would be of the shape of an elephant's temple, hence a kind of drum. From this results that we have to change - *luṇṭhya-māna*- "being robbed, taken by force" into - *luṭhya-māna*- "being beaten".

Occasionally there occurs instead of *luṇṭh* a form *luṇṭ*, which may be nothing else but a (bad) copyist's spelling. It is, however, frequent enough to have induced the dictionaries to pose a *luṇṭ* "to rob" beside *luṇṭh*. In verse 3.76 Bühler (ed. pri.) has twice *luṇṭ* the second and the third editions have once *luṇṭh* (in a) and once *luṇṭ*<sup>42</sup> (in c). Intended is obviously everywhere *luṇṭh* "to rob".

3.76a *kāñcī...vluṇṭhitā*<sup>43</sup> *bhūt...*

"Kāñcī was looted (*vi* - *luṇṭh*)".

c *luṇṭhāka*<sup>44</sup> *luṭtanikhilāmbara.....*

"[whose] entire dresses were taken away by the looters".

18.95d *sutrāmṇo 'pi śravasi luṭhitam yasya śaṅke kathābhiḥ*  
the tales about him (Bilhaṇa) knocked against  
the ear even of Indra".

*luṭhitam...kathābhiḥ...* may be interpreted also as "the

41 To fascinate in Sanskrit would be *mano* (acc.) *hr̥*. A *mano* (acc.) *luṇṭh*, in the sense of 'to fascinate' would, of course, be unexceptionable.

42 Cp. also 6.24 where Bühler has *luṇṭyamāna*- and subsequent editions (correctly) *luṇṭhyamāna*-.

43 Bühler (ed. pri.) : *viluṇṭhitā*.

44 Instead of *luṇṭhāka* in all editions read : *luṇṭhāka* ; see also Vcar. 1.11 quoted in *Alaṃkāras*, by Ruyyaka wherein certain editions (cf. TSS. 40, p. 143 (1915); ed. S.S. Janaki, p. 147) read *luṇṭanāya* instead of (correct) *luṇṭhanāya* in other editions (cp. *Kāvyamālā*, 35, p. 118; ed. R.C. Dwivedi, p. 218 Delhi, 1965) and in our text,

tales rolled towards the ear even of Indra (*kathā-bhiḥ...luṭhitam* as *tena gatam* "he went").<sup>45</sup> Bühler's: "came...to the ears of Indra" avoids to decide the issue.

#### E. Conspectus of grammatical forms used<sup>46</sup>

*luṭh* "to rob":

Verb. ( - ) *luṭhita* (3. 76 ; 4. 16 ; 18.42)

*luṭhya* (1.84)

*luṭhyamāna* 47) (6.24)

Deriv. : *luṭhana* (1.11, 115; 8.65; 14.54)

*luṭh* is compounded with *vi* : 1.84; 3.76; 18.42.

*luṭ(h)* 1. "to roll".

Pres. *luṭ(h)ati*, *luṭ(h)anti* (11.6; 16.66)

Perf. *luloṭ(h)a* (3.24; 7. 73, 44; 18. 43, 51)

- *lulut(h)atuḥ* (6.91)

Verb. ( - ) *luṭ(h)ita* (4.70; 11.51; 12.76; 18.95)

( - ) *luṭ(h)ant* (1.67; 4.43; 13.35, 87; 14.52)

Deriv. : *luṭ(h) ana* (5.3)

*luṭ(h)* is compounded with :

*niḥ* (5.3)

*vi* (4.43; 6.91; 11.51; 12.76; 13.87)

*luṭh* 2. "to strike, to beat against".

Perf. *luloṭha* (10.86)

Verb. *luṭhita* (7.71; 18.95)

*luṭhyamāna* (2.90) (see note 47 below)

Deriv. : *loṭhana* (1.61; 15.65)

*luṭh* is compounded with *niḥ* (1.61; 15.65)

#### 17. Root *v a h* (+ *u d*)

*ud—vah* is on several occasions used in the sense "to

<sup>45</sup> In this case read *luṭ(h)itam*.

<sup>46</sup> Arrangement according to that of W.D. Whitney, *The Roots Verb-Forms*. . ., Leipzig (1885).

<sup>47</sup> *luṭhyamāna-* in 2.90 is to be emended to- *luṭhyamāna-*, see above p. 46,

exhibit, to show, to make manifest", which seems rather a rare use (not properly recorded in lexica). Thus in

1.4 *ekas stanaḥ*<sup>48</sup>.....

... ..  
*yasyāḥ priyārdhaḥsthīṁ udyahantyāḥ*  
*sā pātu vaḥ parvatarājaputrī ||*

"May that daughter of the king of the mountains (i.e. the Himālaya) protect you, the one breast of whom, who exhibits standing in the half part of her beloved one, has gone...".

In this sense *ud - vah* occurs also in 1.51; 3.39; 5.10,20; 9.11, 32; 10.23, 36; 12.50; 14.47 etc.

Interpreting this word literally (on 1.14 *edd. sec. and ter.*, *comm.*) commentators seem to have missed this sense. Their comment on *udyahantyāḥ* as equivalent to *dhārayantyāḥ* "carrying", allegedly showing Bilhaṇa to be a *śākta* has no cogency.<sup>49</sup> Bilhaṇa has used *ud - vah* in the non-figurative sense of "carrying" in 12.48...*asyodvataḥ karābje...ambhoruḥiṇīpalāśam* "of him, who was carrying in his hand the leaf of a lotus"; cp. also 15.64; 18.77. The figurative use of *ud - vah* by Bilhaṇa may be compared to that of roots *bhr* and *bhaj*: in 1.91 *bibhrat* and 11.37 *bhājī* are replacable by the corresponding forms of *ud - vah*.

#### 18. *v ā t ā y a n a -*

*vātāyana-* is invariably glossed in *ed. sec.* and reproduced in *ed. ter.* by *gavākṣa-* "a round window" at the

48 *ekastanaḥ* (*ed. ter.*) is a bad orthography for *ekas stanaḥ* (*edd. prt and sec.*). Cp. p. 1 on 1.74a.

49 Śiva and Pārvatī are sometimes united in the form of a single androgynous deity. The right hand side of the divinity represents Śiva and the left Pārvatī. It is Śiva, *ardhanārī* 'half women' and half *īśa* 'lord'. The male half has *jaṭāmukuta* on the head and the single breast of the female side is prominent, the waist pinched in, the hair done up in a knot (*dhammīla*). Cp. e.g. the figure of *Ardhanārīśvara* of Mahābalipuram, belonging to 7th cent. A.D. (T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 328). Cp. also the verse on *ardhanārīśvara* in *Smk.* 1.11, ascribed to Bilhaṇa,

instance of Amarak. 2.3.9. Literally *vātāyana-* may be explained as *vātasyāyanam yena* "by which the wind goes [and comes] = window" or *vātasyāyanam yatra* "where there is the going [and coming] of the wind". Thus it comes to be used not only in the sense of *gavākṣa-* but as a designation of "the flat roof of an Indian house,<sup>50</sup> roof-terrace, balcony,<sup>51</sup> portico" etc. .

From the context it appears that "balcony" or "flat roof" is the sense in which *vātāyana* is used in 9.91... *vilāsavātāyanasevanena* "by enjoying the pleasure balcony"<sup>52</sup>.

9.129cd *vātāyanaiḥ kelivimānakalpais*  
*tavāstu kāñcī nayanotsavāya*

"May Kāñcī be to the feast of your eyes by its balconies which are like pleasure *vimānas*".

Cp. also : 12.21, 27; 17.10, 30, 32, 60; 18.4, 9, 25, 30; Karpasu. 1.22.

#### 19. *v y ā k h y ā -*

*vyākhyā-* "interpretation" is obvious in 18.4b and 78b. In 18.79c *mahābhāṣyavyākhyā-*, is taken as "commentary on the Mahābhāṣya" by Bühler, followed by others, which seems doubtful :

<sup>50</sup> Kathās. 95.18 *svagrhotuṅgavātāyanagataḥ* 'staying on the lofty roof of the-house'; ibid. 103.16 *harmyavātāyanārūḍhaḥ* 'having climbed on the roof of the palace (cp. also Hcar. 4, para. 7. ...sa rājā...harmasya prṣṭhe *śiṣvāpa* "that king slept on the roof of the palace"). Tawney's explanation of *vātāyana-* by 'window' for these passages in Kathās., is shown to be wrong by the context.

<sup>51</sup> Bcar. 3.19-21; Ragh. 7.6-8; Rudrakavi, Rāṣṭraudha., 20.57. Balconies (= *vātāyana*) framed by small railings, are found in sculptures at Bārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā etc. Young women, crowding each other, stand on these balconies in excitement, looking at scenes below. Cp. A. Coomaraswamy, Early Indian Architecture (Palaces) pp. 181-217 (Eastern Art, 3).

<sup>52</sup> For a similar description cp. particular passage in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Hcar., in which queen Yaśovatī is described to enjoy moonlight on a balcony by putting on her upper garment,

- 18.79cd. *mahābhāṣyavyākhyām akhilajanavandyām vidadhataḥ  
sadā yasya cchātrais tilakitam - abhūt prāṅgaṇam  
api ||*

“[Jyeṣṭhakalaśa] even whose courtyard was always adorned by pupils when he gave his explanation of the Mahābhāṣya, praiseworthy to all people (respected by everybody)”.

The idea is that when he gave his instruction, there were so many pupils, that they had to stand partly outside the room in the courtyard.

Therefore, *vyākhyā-* “interpretation [given to his pupils]”, like former occurrences, is more likely in above stanza. Moreover, no commentary on the Mahābhāṣya by Jyeṣṭhakalaśa is known or mentioned elsewhere.

## 20. *velā-*

*velā-* is explained by *taṭa-* “shore” *edd. ter.* and *sec. comm.* on verse 9.7, which is hardly correct :

*śṛṅgāratnākaravelayeṇa  
tayā praveṣe vihite taruṇyā |  
navānūrāgena manas tadīyaṃ  
ratnotkareṇa sanātham āsit ||*

“When the entrance was effected by that young girl, who was like the flood wave of the ocean of love, his mind was joined with new affection (colouring) as if with a scattering of jewels”.

The idea is that she causes his mind to be full of affection like the flood wave of the ocean (*ratnākara-* “jewel mine”) scatters jewels (makes the shore full of jewels).  
Cp. 12.40cd :

*samucchālantyā praṇayīkṛtāni  
lāvaṇyaratnākaravelayeṇa ||*

“as if embraced by the gushing up flood wave of the ocean of loveliness”.

In 7.75 *velācala-* “coastal mountain” is used for “shore”,

*velā-* originally means "tide, flow", whence developed some secondary senses, viz. "wave" (originally : "of which the tide consists"), "shore" (originally : "on which the tide" is observed"), "boundary/limit" (originally : "of the tide"). Cp. Amarak. 3.3.198 *abdhy-ambu-vikṛtau velā kāla-maryādayor api*.

*velā-* prefixed with *ud* (= *udvela-*) in 8.52 and 10.70 is used in the sense of "limitless".

21. *s a ṁ s t h i t a -*

*saṁsthita-* (4.88b) "stopped, ended", an euphemism for *mṛta-* "dead" : cp. e.g. *akārya-* (4.111) "what must not be done" for "killing".

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## Secondary Source Material relating to Vikramankadevacarita

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1.14 Smk, 4.28.

- (a) For *-āyāti guṇaḥ* : *-āyānti guṇāḥ*, plural instead of singular.

1.26 Smk. 4.5; Śp. 167

- (a) For *pr̥thvīpateḥ* : both *maḥīpateḥ*, seems to be a gloss substituted for the original.
- (d) For *jānāti nāmāpi* : Śp. *nāmāpi jānāti* ; for *teṣām* : Smk. *yeṣām*, which agrees with the conjecture offered by O. Böthlingk (BIS. 4773), but is refuted by the agreement of Vcar. MSS. and Śp. ; for *teṣām* : Smk. *yeṣām*, subordination for coordination.

1.29 Smk. 4.27 ; Śp. 144

- (a) For *vimucya* : Śmk. *viḥāya* (gloss).
- (b) For *doṣe Prayatnaḥ* : both *doṣeṣu yatnaḥ* ; for *khalānām* : both *khalasya*, seemingly to establish a correspondence of number between *khalasya* and *kramelakaḥ* in (d).
- (c) For *nirikṣate* : both *avekṣate* ; for *praviśya* : both *praviṣṭaḥ*.
- (d) For *kañṭaka-* : Smk. *kañṭaki-*, a questionable modern by-form of *kañṭakī-*.

A similar idea is expressed by Rudrakavi (ca. beginning of the 17th cent. A. D.) in *Bhāṇavilāsa*, v. 19 (KM. 2, p. 114) :

*guṇināṃ guṇeṣu satsv api  
piśunajano doṣamātram ādatte |  
kusume phale virāgi  
kramelakah kaṇṭhakaugham iva ||*

The reading of the edition *kaṇṭhakaugham* is apparently a typographical error. *piśunajanaḥ* corresponds to Bilhana's : *khala* -; *kaṇṭhakaugham* to his *kaṇṭhakajālam*.

7.20 Smk. 65.27 ; Śp. 3877

(b) For *dolāsu lolāsu* : both *ḍolāsu ḍolāsu*, a simple mistake.

(c) For *prasādāl labhate* : Smk. *pramādāl labhate*, seems to be a scribal mistake of म for स. It is remarkable that also the MS. of Vcar. has *pramādāl labhate*, corrected by Bühler and *ed. ter.* to *prasādāl labhate* "on account of a boon given to him", which evidently is correct. The explanation of *ed. sec.* (p.247) of *pramādāt=anavadhānatām parityajya* is not acceptable, vārtt. 1 on Pāṇ. 2.3.28, on which it is based (example : *prāsādāt prekṣate* "he looks from the palace [roof]", construed to stand for : "having climbed the palace roof, he looks") would not justify the unmotivated dropping of *parityajya*.

7.23 Smk. 65.29 ; Śp. 3879

(b) For *-jāḍyaḥ* : Śp. *bimbāḥ*. The text reading is more characteristic : "the stiffness of whose hips had been loosened", than of the anthology : "the orb of whose hips...".

(d) For *puruṣāyiteṣu* : Smk. *puruṣāyiteṣa*, is obviously a misprint.

7.63 Smk. 59.15

(b) For *kelīkarmaṇi* : *kṛdākarmaṇi*, (gloss).

7.64 Skm. 1234

(c) For *-jagajjayārjanaruceḥ* : *-jagattrayārjanaruceḥ*, seems to be a simple improvement on the original.



- (d) For *trailokyajaitro* : *trailokyamallo*, is also a simple improvement.

7.71 Smk. 59.27 ; Śp. 3807

- (a) For *-kuhūkāri* : Smk. *-kuhūkāri*, is a correct orthography. Cp. above Chapter I on 7.71ab.  
 (b) For *-drumabharita-* : Smk. *-drumacarita-* is simply a mistake.  
 (c) (d) Instead of :

*ummilannīlamocāparicayaśiśirā vānty .amī. drāviḍīnām  
 karpūrāpāṇḍugaṇḍasthalaluṭhitarayā vāyavo dākṣiṇā-  
 tyāḥ ||*

"these southern winds, whose impetus is beaten back by the camphor-yellowish cheeks of the Drāviḍa women, blow, being cool from their familiarity with (=their coming in touch with) the blossoming black Mocā-trees"

Smk. and Śp. read :

*ete tanvanti velāvanalalitalatātāṇḍavaṃ drāviḍastrī-  
 karpūrāpāṇḍugaṇḍasthalaluṭhitarayā vāyavo dākṣi-  
 ṇātyāḥ ||*

"these southern winds, whose impetus is beaten back by...cause wild dancing of the lovely creepers of the shore-forests".

This change seems to be meant to be an improvement. Some scholar appears to have taken umbrage at the genitive *drāviḍīnām* being construed with the first member of the following compounds, which is considered not good (a so called *sāpekṣasamāsa*).

Secondly, he wanted to bring the qualification of the winds, which is "cool" in the original, into a connection with the statement of (d), that their "impetus was beaten back". So he made them cause the creepers to "dance".

- (d) For *luṭ(h)ita* : Smk. *lulita*, see above p. 38 on *luṭh*.

7.76 Skm. 1248 ; Smk. 59.18<sup>1</sup>

(a) For -grāmaṇīḥ : Skm. śrāvaṇīm, but I.O. (cp. Skm. *ad versum*) reads grāmaṇīm supporting the genuineness of our text.

(b) Instead of

chāyāmātraparigrahe 'pi jagrhe pañceṣu jaitreṣu-  
tām]

: Skm.

chāyāmātraparigraheṇa vidadhe pañceṣavīm  
astratām ],

for-parigrahe'pi : Smk. -parigraho 'pi.

(c) For-taṣīsañcārataḥ : Skm. -darīsañcāritaḥ,  
Smk. -vaṣīsañcāritaḥ,

8.6 Smk. 53.86 ; Śp. 3362

(a) For tasyāḥ : Smk. yasyāḥ ; for śreṇīḥ : both  
śreṇī, cp. on 8.60 below : mudrikāvalīḥ ;  
mudrikāvalī.

(b) For laṭabhabhruvaḥ : Smk. laṭabhabhruvaḥ ; Śp.  
laṭasubhruvaḥ. laṭaha- and laṭabha- both mean  
"handsome" and are equally possible. Since  
laṭabha- is the spelling in other passages of  
our text, e.g. 8. 82 ; 10.58 ; 18.69. it should be  
preferred. It is resanskritised from Pkt. laḍaha-,  
naḍaha-(cp. Ratnacandra, An Illustrated Ārdha-  
Māgadhī Dictionary, s.v.).

(d) For-samudgatā : Smk. -samuddhatā, an improve-  
ment.

With this verse starts the description of Candra-  
lekhā. According to poetic convention the description  
of a divine being should start from the feet, and that  
of a human being from the head (cp. Mallinātha on  
Kum. 1.33). Since Candralekhā belongs to the

1 The verse is quoted anonymously in Smk., which, however, has later  
been assigned by the editor from : Vcar 7.76; cp. Smk. end page 84.

Śilāhāra dynasty, that traced its descent from Jīmūtavāhana, the lord of the Vidyādhara (semi-divine beings), she is given a divine treatment by the poet ; cp. also Kārṇasu. 1.13.<sup>2</sup>

8.8 Smk. 53.84 ; Śp. 3360 ; Subh. 1570 (anonym.)

(c) For *kopād* : Smk. *roṣād* (gloss).

8.10 Smk. 53.85 ; Śp. 3361

(c) For *padadvandvasya* : both *pādadvāyasya* (gloss).

8.14 Smk. 53.81 ; Śp. 3359

(c) For *kṛtālavālaṃ vāllabhyāt* : both *lāvanyāya kṛtaṃ sthānaṃ*, an improvement on the original, which is also attested to in one of the Śp. MSS. (cp. ZDMG 27, 1873, p. 58).

8.30 Smk. 53.70

(a)(b) For *samāptalāvanyasāre sarge* : *samāpte lāvanyasārasarge*. In the reading of Smk. the sense would be :

“When the creation of the substance (raw material) or loveliness was exhausted, the creator went away without filling up the navel-hole of the antelope-eyed one”.

In the reading of Vcar. :

“When, in the creation of the antelope-eyed one the substance of loveliness was exhausted, the creator went away without filling up the navel-hole [or hers]”.

This seems to be clearer and preferable also because the genitive *mṛgīdrśaḥ* can be construed with a word of the same line (*sarge*). For *samāpte* “exhausted, finished, gone”, cp. 6.76 ; 7.2 .

(d) For *prajāpatiḥ* : *caturmukhaḥ* (gloss).

<sup>2</sup> M. Winternitz (Geschichte der ind. Lit., Bd. 3, p. 85) blames Bilhāṇa calling mythically Candrasekhā a *vidyādharakumārī*, which however, is her correct designation known from many inscriptional sources pertaining to this dynasty.

8.37 Smk. 53.63

- (c) For *stanayos tasyāḥ* : *stanayos tanvyāḥ* the substitution of the poetical adjective (*tanvyāḥ* : cp. also 8.82) for the possessive pronoun (*tasyāḥ*) seems to be meant as an improvement. For the substitution of *tasyāḥ* for *tanvyāḥ* no motive could be found : hence it is, most likely, the original reading.

8.60 Smk. 53.44 ; Śp. 3334

- (a) For *aṅgulībhiḥ* : Śp. *aṅgulīṣu* is a *lectio facillior* : *aṅgulīṣu kuraṅgākṣyāḥ śobhate mudrikāvaliḥ* "a row of rings shines on the fingers of the antelope-eyed one", the much more sophisticated *lectio difficillior* must be kept : *aṅgulībhiḥ kuraṅgākṣyāḥ śobhate mudrikāvaliḥ* "a row of rings shines (=is beautiful) through her fingers". The idea is that in this case it is not the rings that beautify the fingers, but the fingers that beautify the rings.
- (b) For *mudrikāvaliḥ* : Smk. *mudrikāvalī*, cp. on 8.6 above for *śreṇiḥ* : *śreṇī*.
- (c) For *pañceṣoḥ* : Śp. *puṣpeṣoḥ* (gloss).
- (d) For *sūkṣma* : Smk *sūkṣmā*, due to wrongly construing it with *paramparā* f.. In fact *sūkṣma*-qualifies the word next to it : *lakṣya*-.

8.62 Subh. 1532

- (a) For *haste cakāsti bālāyāḥ* : *kare bibhāti tanvaṅgyāḥ* (gloss).
- (b) For *tasyāḥ kaṅkaṇamālikā* : *raṇad valaya saṃhatih* (gloss).

8.64 Skm. 849 ; Smk. 53.42

- (a) For *eva* : Smk. *api*.
- (b) For *yadi* : Smk. *citram*.

The changes may be motivated as an attempt to make the verse clearer :

*sarale api dorlekhe  
citrem cañcalacakṣuṣaḥ |  
amugdhābhyo mṛṇālibhyāḥ  
katham ājahratuḥ śriyam ||*

“How did her arms, even though straight / naive, [ it is ] marvelous, rob their beauty from the luxuriant / sophisticated lotus roots ?”.

The original *sarale eva dorlekhe yadi...* means :

“If her arms were straight/naive, how did they rob their beauty from the luxuriant/ sophisticated lotus root ?”

8.65 Smk. 850

(b) For *-niruddha-* : *niśiddha*.

8.69 Smk. 53.24

(b) For *daśanamālīkā* : *daśanamallikā*, an improvement.

8.71 Smk. 53.13 ; Śp. 3304

(d) For *tūṇeva* : both *tūṇīva*, seems alone correct : there is only a feminine *tūṇī*-and masculine *tūṇa*-“quiver”.

8.76 Smk.53.17 ; Śp. 3306

(a) For *vaktrendau* : Śp. *vakrendau*, is a misspelling.

(b) For *sūtritau* “strung together” : both *sūcitau* “indicated, suggested”, must be an error. Passages with *sūtraya-* “string together, shape, create” : Vcar. 9.20 ; 11.23 ; 18.23, 35 ; Kārṇasu. 1.37, 41 ; 2.5 .

8.79 Smk. 820 ; Smk. 53.7 : Śp. 3297 .

(a) For *-rekḥā-* : Śp. *-lekḥā-*.

(d) For *nāsāvamśasya nirgatā* : Smk., Smk. *nāsāvamśavinirgatā* ; Śp. *nāsāvamśavinirgatā*. In

Vcar. *nāsāvaṃśasya* cannot be construed with *nirgatā*, but must be construed with *pattrad-vayīva*.

8.85 Smk. 52.1

- (c) For *parataḥ* "further away, beyond" : *paritaḥ* "all around, in all direction" (cp. 7.13 *canda-nādreḥ parataḥ* "beyond the Malaya mountain" ; 7.69 *candanādreḥ parastāt*). Both readings seem equally possible.

8.86 Skm. 507; Smk. 51.14; Śp 3278

In Skm. lines (b) and (d) are transposed with *vapuḥ* for *vayaḥ*. It seems better to say : "the age (*vayaḥ*), that is friendly to (suitable for) love, i.e. her youth is ready to give up naivety" than "the body...", cp. below Chapter IV on v. 9(c).

This verse describes a girl on the border line of adolescence (Skm., Śp. in the section *vayaḥsandhi*-).

In Śp. lines (b) and (c) are transposed, for (c) being substituted :

*sāśaṅkaṃ tanukaṇṭakakṣatabhiyā krīḍāvane krīḍati |*

For *iṣyate* (of the MS. and edd.) "is desired", read *anveṣyate* "is looked for" : "the touch by the thorns is looked for by the tricky one", the idea being: that she enjoys the scratchings that would take place in passionate embracings. The mistake *neṣyate* (*na-iṣyate*) for *'nveṣyate* must, however, be old, as the paraphrasing line in Śp. shows.

8.87 Smk. 51.13

- (b) For *dolanena* ; *ḍolanena*, Rather an orthographic variant. Cp. Bālar. *ḍolā* for *dolā* (MW); below p. 60 on 13.80.

- (c) For *vā varṇanayā* : *vyāvarṇanayā*.

- 10.46 Subh. 1869 (anonym.)  
 (d) For *tāsām* : *strīṇām*; for *stana-* : *kuca-* (gloss).
- 10.71 Subh. 1884  
 (a) For *dattaṃ sarobhyaḥ phalam* "the fruit was given to the ponds..." : *labdhaṃ sarobhiḥ phalaṃ* "the fruit obtained by the pools...". Both readings amount to the same thing and are equally possible.  
 (c) For *nṛpāṅganābhiḥ* : *varāṅganābhiḥ*, (gloss).
- 10.75 Subh. 1885  
 (c) For *nisargakānteḥ* : *visargakānteḥ*, a mistake,
- 10.87 Cp. above Chapter I on 2.38d.
- 11.77 Smk. 82.2  
 (c) For *prsthaparāgapāṇḍura-* : *piṣṭaparāgapāṇḍura-*.  
 The reading of Vcar. MS. seems to be a scribal mistake. Cp. also 11.84d.
- 11.83 Smk. 82.6; Śp. 3726  
 (c) For *-protapluta-* : Smk. - *plotapluta-*.
- 13.9 Smk. 60.32  
 (b) For *nyaveśayat* : *niveśayan*.  
 Bilhaṇa coordinates : "he puts his glance...on the breasts, he did not find (consequently)...the jet of water...?" Smk. subordinates : "...putting his glance...he did not find...".
- 13.25 Subh. 1781 (anonym.)  
 (a) For *-paṭṭakeṣu* : *kutṭimeṣu*.  
 (b) For *pattriṇaḥ* "arrows" : *mārgaṇāḥ* "arrows" (gloss).

- (d) For *taḍillatā...sevate* : *taḍillatāḥ...bibhrati*, replacement of singular by plural and of root *sev* by synonymous root *bhṛ* "bear"; for *-sphullīṅgabhaṅgīṇ lalitāṅgi*: *sphullīṅgabhaṅgī-lalitāni*.
- 13.80 Smk. 71.10
- (b) For *dolā-* : *ḍolā-*, orthographical variants, cp. above p. 58 on 8.87b.
- (c) For *viśīryate* : *praḍīryate* (gloss).
- 13.84 Śp. 3762
- (c) Omits *me*, which spoils the metre.
- (d) For *prasannatām etya* : *prasannatām etu*.  
The verse is quoted under the section *asati-caritam* (description of unchaste women).
- 13.88 Smk. 61.1
- (a) For *khaṇḍa-* : *ṣaṇḍa-*, which is the correct orthography: see above Chapter I on 5.22a.  
For the neuter *śāḍvalam* : masculine *śāḍvalaḥ*, which is less common, though quoted by lexicographers.
- (c) For *śevāla-* *śaivāla-*, which is orthographically more correct; cp. MW, s.v. *śaivāla-*.
- 14.32 Smk. 62.19
- (c) For *avalokayat* : *vyalokayat*.
- 16.2 Smk. 63.2; Subh. 1827
- (c) For *athājagāma* : Smk. *ājagāmātha*; Subh. *prāptāḥ sapadī*. It seems, these are deliberate changes introduced in order to get rid of the two undesirable iambi in the beginning of the *śloka* line :  
instead of V—V—V we get —V— —V (Smk.)  
or — —VVV (Subh.) respectively.



- (d) For *bhūpateḥ* : Smk. *bhūbhujah* (gloss). Cp. above chapter I on 4.83 cd, below on 16.9.

16.9 Subh. 1829

- (a) For *saśaṅkena* : *sāśaṅkena* (synonymous).
- (d) For *nāsprśyata* : *sprśyate na*, the transposition of the past tense into the present requires changing the word order : *na sprśyate* would contain an iambus before the iambus formed by the fifth and sixth syllable (— — V—V—V). The cadence becomes all right reading *sprśyate na kucasthalī* : —V—VV—V—. Cp. above on 16.2.

16.10 Smk. 63.14

- (a) For *abhūvan* : *abhavan*.
- (c) For *kucotsaṅgāḥ kṛśāṅgīṇām* : *stanotsaṅgā mṛgākṣīṇām*, which are synonymous expressions.

16.14 Smk. 63.9; Subh. 1830

- (d) For *nīradahyata* : Smk. *parābhūyata* (gloss).

16.44 Smk. 109.17

- (d) For *calukyavīraḥ* : *dhanurdharo 'yam*, a deliberate change to make the verse applicable to any hero. Cp. below on 16.51d, 52d; 17.11d, 12d.

16.49 Smk. 64.3

- (b) In our MS. the first three syllables are missing. They have to be supplied from Smk., which reads *talpeṣu* (accordingly *edd.* *sec.* and *ter.*) against Bühler's *visīṛṇa* -.
- (d) For *tuṣāragarvaḥ* : *tuṣāṛavārgaḥ*; is due to metathesis of ॠ and ॡ,

## 16.51 Smk. 63.22

- (b) For *śrīkaṇṭhahāroraḡaiḥ* : *śrīkaṇṭhakaṇṭhōraḡaiḥ*, repetition of the syllables are seemingly for the sake of rhyme (*yamaka*).
- (c) In Vcar. MS. the syllables *ha* in *bṛhat* and *rāḡraghaṇṭā* are left out. Bühler (*ed. pri.*) tried to fill the gap by his own wording, *ed. sec.* changed - silently - following secondary tradition (Smk. 63.22).
- (d) For *kuntalapateḥ* : *saṃtatam aṃī* (void of relevant significance), in order to cancel reference to a particular king. Cp. above on 16.44d.

## 16.52 Smk. 64.10

- (a) For *pīḡdayantaḥ* "tormenting" : *piṇḡdayantaḥ* "making to coagulate", which might be a deliberate change meant to make the winds freeze and not only shake the rivers. *pīḡdayantaḥ*, however is recorded in Smk. v.l.
- (d) For *tasya prītyai* : *lokaprītyai*, is again a deliberate change in order to make the verse more generally applicable (i.e. not only to the present king but to people in general). Cp. above on 16.44d.

## 17.11. Subh. 2560

- (b) Instead of *ayaṃ tu māṃ vetti...* "this king thinks me..." *sa māṃ sadā vetti...* "that king thinks me always...", which seems to be slightly more emphatic.
- (d) Fos *svakhedam ākhyātum abhūt kṛtāspadam* "[the gold] had made its place [on the ears of...] in order to tell its grievance..." : *svakhedam ākhyātum ivāsti bhūpate* "[the gold] is [on the ears of...] in order to tell its grievance,

O king !", which is a deliberate change from the past to the present, and from a laudatory statement concerning one particular king to an eulogy that may be addressed to any king, cp. above 16.44d.

17.12 Subh. 2561

- (a) Instead of *narendracāmikara-* : *tvadāptacāmīkara-*.
- (c) Instead of *itas tataḥ ploṣabhiyeva durgatir mumoca* : *saṃ unmiṣad dāhabhiyeva durgatir jahāti*. The changes are deliberate; the verse is turned into an address (*tvadāpta-*), and the past action (*mumoca*) into a present one (*jahāti*); cp. on 17.11 above.

17.33 Smk. 107.8

- (a) For *sthitāsu* : *stutāstu* (some MSS. *sthitāsu*), is not construable.
- (b) For *nirantarāsu ca* : *nirantarāśmasu* "that are without interstices/gaps", (to be construed with - *sthalīṣu*) seems to be a deliberate change.<sup>3</sup>
- (c) For *kiyaty api* : *viyaty api* "even in the air" : *mārge kiyaty api* "on a way of a certain length", which is supported by 16.32 *kiyantam api mārgam* "a way of a certain length".
- (d) For *nirāḷambagatīśramam* : *nirāḷambagateḥ śramam*, which is an equivalent expression.

<sup>3</sup> There is no rule that forbids to use a *bahuvrīhi* : *nirantara-aśman-* as a feminine, though *nirantarāśmakā* might be more usual,

A concordance of verses quoted from Bilhaṇa in anthologies

1. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*

	1 Sr̥k.	2 Sk̥m.	3 Sm̥k.	4 Śp.	5 Subh.	6 Mis. Works
1.7			2.107			
1.14			4.28			
1.18			4.23			
1.26			4.5	167		
1.27			4.4			BIS. 4773
1.29			4.27	144		BIS. 1548
7.5			59.25			
7.20			65.27	3877		
7.22			65.28	3878		
7.23			65.29	3879		
7.63			59.15			
7.64		1234				
7.70			59.26			
7.71			59.27	3807		
7.76		1248	59.18			
8.6			53.86	3362		
8.8			53.84	3360	1570 anon.	
8.10			53.85	3361		
8.14			53.81	3359		
8.16			53.79	3357		
8.21			53.73	3352		
			anon.			
8.25			53.66			
8.30			53.70			
8.37			53.63			

	1 Sr̥k.	2 Sk̥m.	3 Sm̥k.	4 Śp.	5 Subh.	6 Mis. Works
8.47			53.46			
8.48			53.47			
8.51			53.39			
8.60			53.44	3334		
8.62					1532 <sup>4</sup> anon.	
8.64		849	53.42			
8.65		850				
8.69			53.24			
8.71			53.13	3304		
8.73		825				
8.76			53.17	3306 <sup>4</sup>		
8.79		820	53.7	3297		
8.82			51.12			
8.85			52.1			
8.86		507	51.14	3278		
8.87			51.13			
8.88			50.7			
10.39			65.7	3799	1868 anon.	
10.42			65.6			
10.46					1869 anon.	
10.71					1884 <sup>5</sup>	
10.75					1885	
11.9					1929	
11.77			82.2			
11.83			82.6	3726		

4 Instead of Vcar. *haste cakāsti bālāyāḥ...*, in Subh. the verse starts: *kare bībhāti tanvaṅgyā...*

5 Instead of Vcar. *dattam sarobhīḥ...*, Subh. the verse starts: *labdham sarobhīḥ...*

	1 Srk.	2 Skm.	3 Smk.	4 Śp.	5 Subh.	6 Mis. Works
13.5			60.6			
13.9			60.32			
13.25					1781 anon.	
13.80			71.10			
13.84				3762		
13.88			61.1			
14.32			62.19			
14.37			62.15			
16.2			62.2		1827	
16.8					1828	
16.9					1829	
16.10			63.14			
16.14			63.9		1830	
16.15			63.8		1831	
16.44			109.17			
16.49			64.3			
16.51			63.22			
16.52			64.10			
17.11					2560	
17.12					2561	
17.33			107.8			
17.34			107.9			
18.106					166 Bhaṭṭa Śrī Bilhaṇa	
18.107					Bhaṭṭa Śrī Bilhaṇa	
73	—	7	57	20	17	

2. Karṇasundarī<sup>6</sup>

	1 Sr̥k.	2 Sk̥m.	3 Sm̥k.	4 Śp.	5 Subh.	6 Mis. Works
2.29	536 <sup>7</sup>	647	44.16			
		Śṛṅgāra	Śṛṅgāra			
1	1	1	1	—	—	—

3. Caurapañcāśikā<sup>8</sup>

	1 Sr̥k.	2 Sk̥m.	3 Sm̥k.	4 Śp.	5 Subh.	6 Mis. Works
1				3469		
11				3470	1378	
12				3467	1291	
				Amaru		
3	—	—	—	3	2	—

6 The only verse quoted in anthologies from the Karṇasu., that has come to my notice so far, is Sr̥k. 536 (below. p.81f.) The Karṇasu., verse 1.46, however, is found in Śṛṅgāraśataka of Bhartṛhari (ed. D.D. Kosambi, Bombay 1948, p. 54 v. 139), as already was noticed by K. Schonfeld (cp. Śāntiśataka., Leipzig, 1910, p. 41).

7 The verse was overlooked by D.D. Kosambi in his discussion on the age of Vidyākara (cp. Sr̥k., Introd. p. xxxiii). The reason might be the different starting of this verse in Sr̥k. (*sodvegā mṛga-* ... and Karṇasu (*nīrāgā mṛga-* ...), cp. below p. 81 on 39).

8 References are to Caurap. ed. P. von Bohlen, Berlin 1833, and, for the northern recension, to Caurap. ed. B.S. Miller, New York, 1971, p. 14 ff,

## Verses Ascribed to Bilhana in Anthologies

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1. *atrākaṇṭhaṃ viluṭha salile nirjalā bhūḥ purastāj  
jahyāḥ śoṣaṃ vadanavihitenāmalakyāḥ phalena |  
sthāne sthāne tad iti pathīkastrījana [h] klāntagātrīṃ  
paśyan sītāṃ kim u na kṛpayā vardhito roditaś ca ||*

Smk. 90.19 : *karuṇapaddhatiḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya*.

- (d) *vardhito roditaś ca* "gladdened (comforted) and made to weep" : the wives of the travellers are comforted by their compassion (*kṛpā*), because they realize that there is a woman even more unhappy than themselves. *vardhaya-* "to gladden (comfort)" : Vcar. 5.26; Karpasu. 2½ ; 2 5/6.

2. *atrāvāsaparigrahaṃ grhapater ācakṣva caṇḍodyamaiḥ  
caṇḍālair upasevitāḥ sakhi dhanurhastaiḥ purastād imāḥ |  
utkālākulasārameyaranālelihyamānonnata -  
dvārāgratvagavāsthisāsraśakalasragvallayaḥ pallayaḥ ||*

Smk. 93.5 : *bhayānakapaddhatiḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya*. Seems badly damaged.

- (c) For senseless *utkālākula-* read : *utkaṇṭhākula-* "filled with longing" ?
- (d) For *dvārāgratva-* read: *dvārāgrastha-* "staying on the door fronts" ?; for senseless *gavāsthisāsra-* read : *gavāsthisāsna-* "cow bones and dewlaps" (neuter *dvandva*). The first two conjectures are of course by no means certain.



3. *athopagūḍhe śaradā śasāṅke  
prāvṛḍ yayau śāntataḍṭikatākṣā |  
kāśām na saubhāgyaguṇo 'ṅganānāṇ  
naṣṭaḥ paribhraṣṭapayodharāṇām |*

Smk. 62.5 : *śaradvarṇanapaddhatiḥ ; Bilhaṇasya. Śp. 3911 :*

*śaratsyabhāvākhyānam ; kasyāpi.*

*Variant :*

(b) For *prāvṛḍ* : *Śp. śarad-*, certainly a mistake.

4. *abhisaraṇarasah kṛśāṅgayāster  
ayam aparatra na vīkṣitaḥ śruto vā |  
ahim api yad iyaṁ nirāśanāṅghrer  
nibiḍitanūpuram ātmanīnabuddhyā ||*

Smk. 71.9 : *abhisārikāpaddhatiḥ ; kasyāpi.* In Bhand. rep.  
(p. xxxiv) the verse is attributed to Bilhaṇa.

*Variant :*

(c) MSS. *nirāsatāṅghrer*, corrected into *nirāsanāṅghrer*  
by the editor.

5. *aye keyaṁ līlādhavalagrhavātāyanatale  
tulākoṭikvāṇaiḥ kusumadhanuṣṭāṇi jāgārayati |  
aho netrādvaṇḍaṁ vilasati vīlāṅghya śrūtipathaṁ  
kathāṁ na trailokyaṁ jayati madanaḥ-smeravadanaḥ |*

Smk. 49.11 : *nāyikānāyakayor avalokanam ; Bilhaṇasya.*  
Sk. 2367 : *uccāvacaprayāḥe samasyā ; kasyacit ; Śp. 3518 :*  
*saṁ -bhogaśṛṅgāre parasaprāvalokanam ; kasyāpi.*

*Variants :*

- (a) For *līlā-* : Sk. *dhanyā-* : for *-tale* : Sk. *-gatā-*. By  
*'vātāyana-* is apparently meant here "open roof",  
not "window" as it is translated by Th. Aufrecht  
(ZDMG 36, p. 550). On *vātāyana-* cp. above p. 47.

- (b) For *kusumadhanuṣaṃ* : Skm. *viṣamaviśikhaṃ* (gloss). *tulākoṭīkvāṇa-* "jingling of an anklet", cp. Vcar. 8.8 ; 10.65 ; 12.47 ; Kārṇasu. 1.18.

For the idea of (b), cp. Vcar. 18.13 ; Kārṇasu. 4.4.

- (c)(d) Skm. reads :

*purā yā prāṇeṣe gatavati kṛtā puṣpadhanuṣā  
sarāsārāi rātriṃ divam akṛpam ujāgarakṛṣā | |*

For *śrutipathaṃ* : Śp. *śrutim aho* in (c) yields a redundant word *aho*.

6. *aratir iyam upaiti māṃ nā 'nidrā  
gaṇayati tasya guṇān mano na doṣān |  
vigalati rajanī na saṃgamāśā  
vrajati tanus tanutām na cānurāgaḥ | |*

Śp. 3427 : *viyoginīpralāpāḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya*. Srk.723 : *virahinīvrajyā* ; *Pravarasenasya*. Skm. 660 : *śṛṅgārapravāhe vāsakasajjā* ; *Pravarasenasya*. Smk. 40.3 (*viyoginīpralāpa paddhatiḥ*) *kasyāpi*. Subh. 1113 : *virahinīpralāpāḥ* ; *kasyāpi*.

Variants :

- (b) For *gaṇayati* "counts" : Subh. *prathayati* "extends, proclaims".  
(c) For *vigalati* "oozes away" : Smk., Subh. *viramati* "takes a rest, ceases" (gloss).

Further quotations : Srk. *ad versum*.

7. *asau rasaucityaguṇojjvala 'pi  
gumpha na kāvyavyapadeśayogyah |  
dhatte khalasyāpi na durviśahya-  
dveṣagrahotsāraṇamantratām yah | |*

Smk. 4.11 : *kavikāvyapraśaṃsāpaddhatiḥ* : *Bilhaṇasya*.

- (c) *khalā-* "detractor, faultfinder" (*nindakapuruṣa*) : Vcar. 1.18 ; 6.78.

(d) For *dveṣagraha-* read *dveṣāgraha* ?.

8. *āḥ kaṣṭaṃ vanavāsasāmyakṛtayā siddhāśramaśraddhayā  
pallīṃ bālakuraṅga saṃprati kutaḥ prāptosi mṛtyor  
mukham |  
yatrānekakuraṅgakoṭikadanakrīḍollasallohita-  
srotobhiḥ paripūrayanti parikhām uḍḍāmarāḥ pāmarāḥ | |*

Śp. 946 : *hariṇānyoktayaḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya*.

9. *āpūjitaivāstu girīndrakanyā  
kiṃ pakṣapātena manobhavasya |  
yady asti dūtī sarasoktidakṣā  
nāthaḥ patet pādatale vadhūnām | |*

Smk. 41.3 : *dūtīpreṣaṇapaddhatiḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya*. Śp. 3438 :  
*nāyakaṃ pruti dūtīpreṣaṇam* ; *Bilhaṇasya*.

*Varlants :*

- (a) For *āpūjita-* : Śp. *apūjita-*, which is certainly correct. *ā - pūj* is not attested to anywhere and the sense is : "no prayer is called for, neither to Pārvatī nor to Kāma...".

- (d) For *nāthaḥ patet pādatale* : Śp. *dāsaḥ patiḥ pādatale*. The reading of Smk. *ka* (MS.) : *tadā patiḥ pādatale...*

10. *ugragrāham udanyato jalam atikrāmaty anālabane  
vyomni bhrāmyati durgamaṃ kṣitibhṛtām prāgbhāram  
ārohati |  
kīrṇam yāti viṣākulair ahikulaiḥ pātālam ekākinī  
kīrtis te nayanābhirāma kṛtakaṃ manye bhayaṃ  
yoṣītām | |*

Smk. 97.43 : *rājavarṇanapaddhatiḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya*<sup>1</sup>. Subh. 2554 : *cāṭavaḥ* ; anonym.

1 Editor of the Smk. (*Koṣināmānukramaṇī*, p. 57) refers this verse to Cor-apañcāsikā fol. 6a (reference not clear to me).

Peterson (Subh., Notes p.80) notices that the verse is attributed to Khaṇḍjanakavi in Subhāṣita-hārāvalī<sup>2</sup>. Cp. also G.A. Grierson, Ind. Ant. 16, 1887, p.46 ff.

11. *unmilanti nakhair lunīhi vahati kṣaumāñcalenāvṛṇu  
kriḍākānanam āśrayanti valayakvāṇaiḥ samuttrāsaya |  
itthaṃ vañjuladakṣiṇānilakuh ūkaṇṭhīṣu sāṅketika -  
vyāhārāḥ subhaga tvadīyavirahe tasyāḥ sakhinām  
mithaḥ | |*

Smk. 44.13 : *nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktiḥ ; kasyāpi*. In Bhand. rep. ( p. xxxiv ) the verse is attributed to Bilhaṇa.

Skm. 624 : *śṛṅgārāpravāhe priyasaṃbodhanam ; Amaroḥ .  
Śp. 3489 : nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktiḥ ; Satkavimīśrasya*.

*Variants :*

(b) For *āśrayanti* ; Skm. *āviśanti*.

(d) For *vyāhārāḥ* : Śp. *vyāpārāḥ*.

Further quotations : Skm. *ad versum*.

12. *upaśamaphalād vidyābījāt phalaṃ dhanam icchatām  
bhavati viphalāḥ prārambho yat tad atra kim adbhutaṃ |  
niyataviṣayāḥ sarve bhāvā na yānti hi vikriyām  
janayitum alaṃ śāler bījaṃ na jātu javāṅkuram | |*

Srk. 1361 : *arthāntaranyāsavrajyā*; anonym. Ed. *ad versum* records statement *Bilhaṇasatakāt* from Pad p. 91.59.

13. *auśmāyamāṇanavayauvanamugdhabhāvāḥ  
śṛṅgārasāgaramanojñātaraṅgalekhāḥ |  
kandarpakelirasalabdhayaśaḥpatākāḥ  
paṇyāṅganāḥ puram imām adhivāsanti | |*

Smk. 107.13 : *nagarīvarṇanapaddhatiḥ ; Nāthakumārasya*. In Bhand. rep. ( p. xxxv ) the verse is ascribed to Bilhaṇa.

2 Harikavi, Subhāṣita-hārāvalī (ca. 1685), a court poet of the Marāṭhā. king Sambhājī, unpublished (BORI, MS. 92/1883-84).

Variant :

(a) For *auṣmāyamāṇa-* : Bhand. rep: *uṣmāyamāṇa-*.

14. *kākutstheṇa śīrāṃsi yāni śataśaś chinnāni māyānidheḥ |  
paulastyasya vimānaśīmaṇi tathā bhrūntāni nākaukasām  
tāny evāsyā dhanuḥśramaprasāmanam kurvanti sītāpateḥ  
krīḍācāmarāḍambarānukṛtibhir lolāyamānaiḥ kacaiḥ | |*

Smk. 95.7 : *adbhutapaddhatiḥ*; *Bilhāṇasya* Śp. 4018 :  
*idem.*; *Bilhāṇasya*.

15. *kāmaṇi vaneṣu hariṇās tṛṇena jīvanty ayatnasulabhena |  
vidadhati dhaniṣu na dainyaṇi te kila paśavo vayaṇ  
sudhiyaḥ | |*

Srk. 1494 : *nirvedavrajyā* : anonym. Edition, among other  
sources, records : Pad. p. 91.57 *Bilhāṇasatakāt*; Ssm.  
1038 *Bilhāṇasya*.

Skm. 2124 : *uccāvacapravāhe manasvisevakaḥ*; *Śilhāṇasya*.<sup>3</sup>  
Smk. 26.1 : *hariṇāpaddhatiḥ*; anonym. Śp. 261 : *manas-  
viprasāṃsā*; anonym. The verse is found also in the  
*Śāntisataka* (1.14), ascribed to Śilhāṇa.

Variants :

- (b) For *vidadhati dhaniṣu na dainyaṇi* : Smk., Śp *dhaniṣu  
na dainyaṇi vidadhati*; for *kila* : Śp. *khalu*.

16. *kṛtvā nūpuramūkatāṇi caraṇayoḥ saṃyamyā nīvimaṇin  
uddāmadhvanipaṇḍitān pariḥkṛc ca nidrāyite |  
kasmāt kupyasi yāvad asmi calitā tāvad vidhipreritaḥ  
kāśmīrīkucakumbhavibhramadharaḥ śubhrāṃśur  
abhyudyataḥ | |*

Smk. 70.13 : *abhisāre kāmijanapralāpapaddhatiḥ*; *Kāśmīrī  
Bilhāṇasya*. Smk. 899 : *śṛṅgārapravāhe mānī nāyakaḥ*;  
*kasyacit*. Srk. 834 *asatīvrajyā* : anonym.

Variants :

- (b) For *-dhvanipaṇḍitān* ("clever in [making] sounds") :

<sup>3</sup> In anthologies there is often confusion, too, in ascribing verses to  
Bilhāṇa or to Śilhāṇa, cp. D.D. Kosambi, Srk., Introd. p. xxxiii.

Srk. *-dhvaṇipīṇḍītān* ("conglomerated by [?] sounds"), not preferable; for *nidrāyite* : Srk., Skm. *nidrāyati*, which seems better.

- (c) For *kasmāt* : Srk. *-kasmāi*, Skm. *tasmin*, both are hardly construable.
- (d) For *-vibhramadharah* : Srk. *saṃbhramadharah*, Skm. *vibhramakarah*; for *śubhrāṃśur abhyudyataḥ* : Srk. *śītāṃśur abhyudyataḥ*, Skm. *śītāṃśur abhyudgataḥ*.

The verse with ascription to *Kāśmīraka - Bilhaṇasya* is quoted by Arjunavarṇadeva (ca. first half of the 13th cent. A.D.) in his *Rasikasamjivinī* commentary on the *Amaruśataka*, v. 32 (KM 18) with (b) *nidrāyati* (d) *śītāṃśur abhyudgataḥ*. The phrase *kasmāt kupyasi*, addressed to the lover who is angry because of the girl's delay, is correctly explained here. Its source might have been Skm. Further quotations ; Srk. *ad versum*.

17. *kvāpy agniḥ kvacid adribhūr naraśiraḥkīrṇā kvacin  
nimnagā  
rūkṣā kvāpi jaṭā kvacid viśadharā raudraṃ viṣaṃ  
kutracit |  
tādṛgbhūtagaṇair vṛto mama citābhasmormikirmīritaḥ  
saṃsāraṃ pratimucya yātur āpunāryogāya panthāḥ  
śivaḥ | |*

Skm. 23 : *devapravahe Śivaḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya* (ed. : Śp. [MS.] *Śilhaṇa*).

18. *kṣaṇībhṛtkāṭakaprayāṇasamāye prēmākulā preyaśī  
hasānyastaviśuddhataṇḍulakaṇān dātum śirasy āgatā |  
saṃsvedād virahānalāt karayuge jātā ca pakvodanaṃ  
taṃ dṛṣṭvā gurusamnidhau kṛtavatī nīrājanam lajjayā | |*
- Smk. 40.7 : *viyoginīpralāpapaddhatiḥ*; *Bilhaṇasya*.

(d) Instead of *taṃ* read *tad* ?

19. *galaty ekā mūrchā bhavati punar anyā yad anayoḥ  
kim apy āsīn madhyaṃ subhaga nikhilāyām api nīśi |  
likhantyās tatrāsyāḥ kusumaśaralekhaṃ tava kṛte  
samāptiṃ svastīti prathamapadabhāgo 'pi na gataḥ | |*

Smk. 44. 20 : *nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktiḥ ; Bilhaṇasya. Śp.*  
3477 : *idem. ; kasyāpi.*

20. *guṇā yatra na pūjyante kā tatra guṇinām gatiḥ |*  
*nagnakṣapaṇakagrāme rajakaḥ kiṃ kariṣyati ||*

Sūktiratnahāra<sup>4</sup> 32.33 : *durjanapaddhatiḥ ; Bilhaṇasya.*

For a somewhat similar idea cp. Vcar. 1.25

21. *grhītakhaṇḍaḥ śaśīśekharaṇa*  
*prāptaḥ śaśivodarapūraṇāya |*  
*bhujena lakṣmīmukhacandrabhāsām*  
*sā pātu vaḥ śrīpatipāñcanyāḥ | |*

Smk. 2.102 : *aśīrvādapaddhatiḥ ; anonym. In Bhand. rep.*  
(p. xxxiii) the verse is ascribed to Bilhaṇa.

- (c) Edition replaces (senseless) *bhujena* convincingly by  
*puñjēna.*

Cp. also Vcar. 1.1; 12.48.

22. *grhītaṃ tāmbūlaṃ pariṇavacobhiḥ katham api*  
*smaraty antaḥśūnyā subhaga vigatāyām api niśi |*  
*tathaivāste hastaḥ kalitaphanivallikisalayas*  
*tathaivāsyaṃ tasyāḥ kramukaphalapālīparicitam ! |*

Smk. 44.18 : *nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktiḥ ; Bilhaṇasya. Śp.*  
3475 : *idem. ; Bilhaṇasya.*

- (b) For *vigatāyām* : *Śp. viratāyām* (gloss).

23. *grāmāṇām upaśalyasīmani madodrekasphurat sauṣṭhavāḥ*  
*phetkāradhvanim udgirantu paritaḥ sambhūya gomāyavaḥ |*  
*anyāḥ ko 'pi ghanāghanadhvanighanaḥ pārīndraguñjāravaḥ*  
*śuṣyadgaṇḍam alolaśuṇḍam acalatkarṇaṃ gajair yaḥ*  
*śrutāḥ | |*

Smk. 22.9 : *siṃhapaddhatiḥ ; Ralhaṇasya. In Bhand. rep.*  
(p. xxxiii) the verse is attributed to Bilhaṇa. Śp. 913 :  
*siṃhānyoktayaḥ ; Ralhaṇasya.* which Th. Aufrecht (ZDMG  
27, p. 56) attributes to Bilhaṇa.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1938 (TSS. 141).

Variants :

(b) For *udgirantu* : Śp. *udgiranti*.

(c) For *anyaḥ ko'pi* : Śp. *so'nyaḥ ko'pi*.

24. *gharmāṃśur bhagavān asūta yamunāṃ tāpyā kṛtaṃ*  
*gaṅgayā*  
*pātho 'syāḥ kvathitaṃ purārimukṣe netrānalajvālayā |*  
*syandaiś candanaśākhināṃ śatamukhaiḥ kimmīranīror-*  
*mayāḥ*  
*sevāyai malayācalendrasaritaḥ sambhūya tiṣṭhantu me ||*  
 Smk. 43.11 : *viyogipralāpapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

(c) For *śatamukhaiḥ* read : *śatasukhaiḥ* ; for *kimmīra-* : *kirmīra-*, cp. above 17 (c) *-kirmīritaḥ* .

25. *candro na ced vrajati tat sakhi kimcid eva*  
*cakraṃ kathaṃcid apasāraya tārakāṇām |*  
*etāḥ kadācid aśubhaiḥ patikhaṇḍitānām*  
*piṇḍatvam etya racayanti vidhuṃ dvitīyam ||*  
 Smk. 40.8 : *viyoginīpralāpapaddhatiḥ ; Bilhaṇasya.*
26. *jaḍātmā 'pi svakālottaḥ kliṣṇāti balino 'py arin |*  
*ākramāti sahasrāṃśuṃ himo hemantajṛṇbhitaḥ ||*  
 Smk. 63.7 : *hemantavarṇanapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

27. *jyotsnāṃ pibeyuḥ kiyatīm cakorāḥ*  
*kiṃ nātra dhātrā kariṇo niyuktāḥ |*  
*śighram yad eṣāṃ karapūraṇena*  
*jāyeta candraḥ prabhayā vihīnaḥ ||*  
 Smk. 40.9 : *viyoginīpralāpapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*
28. *tanvānaḥ śītalatvaṃ jaladhitaḥavanottālatālāsavānām*  
*dolāvyaḥlolacolīgururamaṇabharotphālahelāsahāyaḥ |*  
*vāyur vāty eṣa dantavaraṇam adharadale lālayan keralinām*  
*unmilallakṣyaśikṣāśramakusumadhanurdakṣiṇo*  
*dākṣiṇātyaḥ ||*

Smk. 59.28 : *vasantavarṇanapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

(b) *-ramaṇa-* of the MSS. should be retained instead of *-cāraṇa-* (?) of the edition. *ramaṇa*=*jaghana* "back-



side, behind" is taught by Hemacandra, Anekārtha. 3.211 (till now not attested in literature); -*utphāla* in the sense "jumping up" : Vcar. 16.39; Karpasu. 2.2.

29. *tasya tvayā karkaśavādino 'pi  
prakāśanīyaṃ masṛṇatvam eva |  
preṃṇo 'sti bhagnasya na hi prarohaḥ  
puṣpasya vṛntād iva vicyutasya ||*

Smk. 41.4 : *dūtīpreṣaṇapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

30. *tādīdalam kācana karpapāṣe  
niveśayantī sutanuḥ karābhyām |  
rarāja karṇāntavisarpiḍrṣṭiḥ  
śāṇe dadāneva kaṭākṣabāṇān ||*

Smk. 86.2 : *sambhogāviṣkaraṇam; Bilhaṇasya. Śp. 3307 :  
taruṇīvarṇanam; Bilhaṇasya.*

*Variants :*

- (a) For *tādī-* : Śp. *tālī-*, orthographic variant; for *kācana-* : Śp. *kāñcana*, (senseless).  
(b) For *niveśayantī* : Śp. *prasārayantī* (gloss).  
(c) For *-visarpiḍrṣṭiḥ* : Śp. *niṣaṇṇadrṣṭiḥ*.  
(d) For *dadāneva* : Śp. *dadhāneva*, preferable ?
31. *tivraḥ ko 'pi vijṛmbhate varatanos tvadviprayogajvaraḥ  
kiṃ brūmaḥ subhaga tvayā parijanaḥ kautūhalād dṛśyatām |  
kaṇṭhe śeṣam adhairyagadgadagirā kṛtvā sakhinām tayā  
gaurāṅgitvam anaṅgatāpasuhrdaḥ sarvāḥ parityājitāḥ ||*
- Smk. 44.19 : *nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*
- (c) For *śeṣam* : read *śleṣam* "embracing" ?  
(d) Seems obscure : "they all are made [by her] to let go (to give up) the *gaurāṅgitva* (?) of the friend of the heat of love (?)".
32. *dehapraviṣṭādrisutāmukhendu-  
dvitīyakhaṇḍārdham ivāgato yaḥ |  
avāptukāmaḥ paripūrṇabhāvaṃ  
sa pātu yaḥ sambhujāṭṭhacandraḥ ||*

Smk. 2.52 : āśīrvādapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya-.

- (a) Read *indum* for *indu-*, "The half moon in Śiva's hair... that has approached the face moon of Pārvatī...as if it were its second half... .

33. *dehārdham kuru pārvatī sthirapadam [haste] dhanur*  
*dhāraya*  
*svedārdham yaśi mṛjyatām karatalam bhaṣmāṅgarāgēna*  
*me |*

*evam jalpata eva bhāṣāśikhini proḍḍiya śiñjāphaṇi-*  
*śvāsaiḥ prajvalite pureṣu jayati smeram purārer mukham ||*

Smk. 1.11 : namaskārapaddatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.

- (c) *śiñjā-* as "bow string" (rare use) also Vcar. 8.88; 9.1, 32.

34. *drāghīyasā dhārṣṭyaguṇena yuktāḥ*  
*kaiḥ kair apūrvaiḥ parakāvyakhaṇḍaiḥ |*  
*āḍambaram ye vacasām vahanti*  
*te ke 'pi kanthākavayo jayanti ||*

Śp. 193 : *kukavinindā*; Bilhaṇasya. Smk. 5.1 : idem; *Kṣe-*  
*mendrasya* (not attested).

Verses denouncing plagiarists (*kāvyacaura*) in Vcar. 1.11, 18.

35. *dhatte dṛṣṭim adhītavibhramalavām sā puṣpalāvījane*  
*caitrasya kṣaṇam ādareṇa mahatā mauhūrtikān prcchati |*  
*śyenā [t] tuṣyati kokiladhvanirūṣā samtyājyā līlāsukān*  
*niḥśokā tvayi durlābhe kiṁ āpārām śākyām varākyā tayā ||*

Smk. 44.15 : *nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktiḥ*; Bilhaṇasya.

- (c) *tuṣyati* here with the abl. of starting point.

- (d) For *niḥśoka-* read *niḥśūka-* "o merciless one !" ? : because of her wrath with the *kokilas* "she is contented on account of the falcon" ; *varāka-* fem. *varākī-* in the sense of "miserable, to be pitied" : Vcar. 1.18, 98; 8.46; 11.9 ( -ī ), 65 ( -ī ); *vārākī-* in the sense of "miserable, wretched, of vile behaviour" ; Vcar. 6.35; Kārṇasu. 1.11,

36. *dhik tvāṃ re kalikāla yāhi vilayaṃ viparyastatā  
hā kaṣṭaṃ śrutiśālināṃ vyavahṛtir mlecchocitā dṛśyate |  
ekair vāṇmayadevatā bhagavatī vikretum ānīyate  
niḥśaṅkair aparaiḥ parīkṣaṇavidhau sarvāṅgam  
udghāṭyate ||*

Śp. 194 : *kukavinindā*; *Bilhaṇasya*. Smk. 5.2: *idem*. *Ral-  
haṇasya*. In Bhand. rep. (p.xxxiii) the verse is  
ascribed to Bilhaṇa.

In anthologies there is often confusion in ascribing  
verses to Bilhaṇa or to Ralhaṇa. Thus Śp. 913; 988, are  
ascribed to Ralhaṇa by most, but to Bilhaṇa by some  
MSS<sup>5</sup>. and by Bṛhacchārṅgadharapaddhati<sup>6</sup>.

37. *nābhūvan bhuvi yasya kutracid api spardhākaraḥ  
kuñjarāḥ  
simhenāpi na laṅghitā kim aparaṃ yasyoddhatā  
paddhatiḥ |  
kaṣṭaṃ so 'pi kadambyate karivaraḥ phārāravaḥ  
pheravair  
āpātūlagabhīrapaṅkapaḥ alimagno 'dya bhagnodyamaḥ ||*

Śp. 924 : *gajānyoktayaḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya*.

(b) *kim aparaṃ* or *kim anyat* "why [say] more" as a  
parenthesis is frequent in Vcar. : 3.33; 6.90; 11.77;  
13.93; 17.4; 18.6, but occurs also in other writers: cp.  
Śp. 1084, 1118, 3448 etc. and above 35.

38. *nidrārḍhamīlitadrśo madamantharāṇi  
nāpy arthavanti na ca nāma nirarthakāṇi |  
adyāpi me mṛgadṛśo madhurāṇi tasyās  
tāny akṣarāṇi hṛdaye kim api dhvananti ||*

Śp. 3468 : *viyogipralāpaḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya*. Smk. 34.26  
*idem*.; *Kalaśasya*. Subh. 1280 : *virahiṇāṃ pralāpāḥ Kala-  
śakasya*.

5 ZDMG 27, 1876, p. 56

6 A.D. Pusalkar, P.K. Gode Commemoration Vol. Poona, 1960, pt. 3,  
p. 157 f.

## Variants :

- (a) For *madamantharāṇi* : Subh. *madamantharāyā*.  
 (b) For *apy arthavanti* : Smk. *atyarthavanti*; for *nāma* Smk., Subh. *yāni*.

The authenticity of the verse is not beyond doubt, for the last *pāda* of it is quoted by Abhinavagupta (980-1020 A.D.) in his *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* (KSS. 135, p. 163) : and by Dhanika (ca. 1000 A.D.) in his *Avaloka* on *Daśarūpaka* on 4.23, without any attribution. The verse is quoted in entirety by Kuntaka (950-1000 A.D.) in *Vakroktijīva* on 1.19 and repeated twice partially on the same (for further quotations : cp. ed. S.K. De, 1961 *ad versum*).

The verse occurs in the Kashmirian recension of the *Caurap.* (ed. W. Solf, verse 36), but in other recensions it is missing (cp. B.S. Miller, *Phantasies of a love-thief*, p. 134—35).

The ascription to Bilhaṇa by Śp. may be due to the fact that to its author, who was a Kashmiri, the Kashmirian recension of the *Caurap.* was known.

39. *nīrāgā mṛgalāñchane mukham api svaṃ nekṣate darpaṇe  
 trastā kokilakūjītād api giram nonmudrayaty ātmanaḥ |  
 citraṃ duḥsahadāyini dhṛtadveṣā 'pi puṣpāyudhe  
 mugdhā sā subhaga tvayi pratipadam premādhikaṃ puṣyati |*

Smk. 44.16 : *nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktiḥ* ; *Bilhaṇasya*. Srk. 536 : *dūtīvacanavrajyā*; *Śṛṅgārasya*. Skm. 647 : *śṛṅgāra-pravāhaḥ Śṛṅgārasya*. Śp. 3488 : *nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktiḥ* ; *kasyāpi*.

## Variants :

- (a) For *nīrāgā* : Srk. ; Skm. *sodvegā*.  
 (c) For *citraṃ duḥ-* : Smk. *itthaṃ duḥ*.

(d) For *mugdhā sā subhagā tvayi* : Srk. *bālā sā ...*; Śp.  
*sā bālā subhagaṃ prati*; for *pratipadaṃ premā-* : Skm.  
*pratimuhūḥ premā-*.

That the ascription to Bilhaṇa is correct, is proved by the verse occurring in Karṇasu. 2.29. Here we read :

(b) *khinnā kokilakūjitād api*; (d) *mugdhākṣī*.

*khinnā...* -*kūjitāt* seems to be emended into *trastā...-kūjitāt* "afraid of". But "tormented on account of the crying..." is unobjectionable, cp. above verse 35c...*śyenā[r] tuṣyati*".

The verse was overlooked by D.D. Kosambi<sup>7</sup> when discussing the age of Vidyākara (the compiler of Srk.), Introd. p. xxxiii. It shows his conclusions to be wrong. Also the statement, concerning the verses of Karṇasu., given by B.S. Miller, Caurap. p. 4 n7 does not stand.

40. *paśyantu kautukam idam sakalāḥ kavīndrāḥ*  
*kṣīpraṃ himādriśīkharaṃ rajanīcareśaḥ |*  
*vāme kare rajatakumbhavad eṣa dhṛtvā*  
*dhatte kareṇa himanirjharapānalīlām ||*

Smk. 95.8 : *adbhutapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya*.

(d) Instead of *kareṇa* read '*pareṇa* ? "holding the snow mountain...in the left hand...he performs with the other one the show of drinking the cascades of ice [water]"

41. *putram ambujamukhī śavabhaṅgyā*  
*kṛtrīmaṃ śirasī kāpi vahanī |*  
*kāntaveśmani jagāma rudantī*  
*kaṃ viḍambayati no kusumeṣuḥ ||*

Subh. 1952 : *abhisārikāḥ; Bilhaṇasya*.

<sup>7</sup> Which is pardonable as the verse starts differently in Srk. (*sodvegā mṛga-*) and Karṇasu. (*nīrāgā mṛga-*).

- (a) On *śavabhaṅgyā* "under the semblance of a dead body", cp. on *bhaṅgī*- above Chapter II on 13.  
 (d) Occurs as (d) of Vcar. 11.24.

The metre (*svgatā*) is identical with the metre employed by Bilhaṇa in Vcar., canto 11, where the designs of *abhisārikās* are described in similar fashion (verses 23-25).

42. *purāḥ sthītvā kiṃcid valitamukham ālokaya sakhe  
 sakhedāḥ sthāsyaṃti dhruvam idam adṛṣtūś tava dṛśaḥ |  
 itaś cañcatkāñcīraṇitamukharān saudhaśikharān  
 arākāyāṃ keyaṃ kavacayati candreṇa mahasā ||*

Smk. 49.12: *nāyikānāyakayoṛ avalokanam; Bilhaṇasya.*

Śp. 3517: *sambhoge parasparāvalokanam; kasyāpi.*

Variants:

- (a) For *adṛṣtāḥ* "not having seen": Śp. *adṛṣtvā* "not having seen," hardly possible.  
 (c) For *-mukharān saudhaśikharān*: Śp. *-mukharāt saudhaśikharāt*, not construable.  
 (d) For *kavacayati*: Śp. *kavalayati, kavacaya-* "to cover with an armour" (e.g. Kārṇasu. 1.45... *kavacitaḥ pañceṣuḥ*...; 2.8... *racitakavacaḥ*... *kusumāyudhaḥ* "covers the creeper with sprouts"; 4.13... *kavacitaṃ candrasya kāntyā mukham* "the face covered with the loveliness of the moon", in the sense of simply "to cover". Note in particular the similarity of the idea and expression of (d) and Kārṇasu. 4.13(a).

This rare use of *kavacayati* "covers" seems not to have been understood by Śp., which replaces it by *kavalayati* "swallows".

43. *pratyaṣṭami praticaturdaśi devayātrā-  
 vyājena dikṣu ca vidikṣu ca saṃcarantyaḥ |  
 eṇīdṛśaḥ praṇayakandalitaiḥ kaṭākṣair  
 ātanvate ratipater iha dīrgham āyuh ||*

Smk. 107.15: *nagarīvarṇanapaddhatiḥ; Sarvajñavāsudevasya.*

In Bhand. rep. (p. xxxv) the verse is ascribed to Bilhaṇa.

- (c) *kandalita*- "produced in plentitude, multitude, abundance" cp. Vcar. 11.53 *kāmakīrtiṃ... kandalayanti...*;  
*kandala*- "plentitude": Vcar 13.22; *kandalī*- "plentitude": Vcar. 7.76.

44. *prayātavati yāminīramaṇacandrikāpāthasi*  
*praśāntam iḥa bhāsate sarasakardamābhaṇi nabhaḥ |*  
*praveṣṭum iḥa śaṅkitair iḥa raves turaṅgair dhṛtaḥ*  
*kṣaṇaṃ tyajati nodayācalaviṭaṅkavīthiṃ rathaḥ ||*

Smk. 82.19: *prabhātavarṇanapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

45. *prāleyādriḥ tvaritam urasi kṣipyatām śaityahetor*  
*āstām yadvā sa khalu nikhilaḥ syād vilīyā[ś]maśeṣaḥ |*  
*tyaktvā kṣāraṃ jaladhisalilaṃ jāhnavītoyapūrṇās*  
*tūrṇaṃ gātre mama jalamucaḥ kañcukatvaṃ prayāntu ||*

Smk. 43.42: *viyogipralāpapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

46. *bībhatsā viṣayā jūgupsitatamaḥ kāyo vayo gatvaraṃ*  
*prāyo bandhubhir adhvanīya pathikair yogo viyogā-*  
*vahaḥ |*  
*hātavyo 'yam asāra eva virasaḥ saṃsāra ityādikaṃ*  
*sarvasyaiva hi vāci cetasī punaḥ kasyāpi punyāt-*  
*manaḥ ||*

Sk. 2276 : *uccāvacapravāhe vicikitsitam; Silhaṇasya*, in the second ed.<sup>8</sup> the verse is ascribed to Bilhaṇa. Srk. 1610: *śāntivrajyā; Bhartṛhareḥ*, edition, *inter alia*, records: S3 *Bilhaṇasya*; Pad. p. 90.52 *Bilhaṇaṣatakāt; Ssm. 1018 Bilhaṇasya.*

*Variants :*

- (b) For *yogo* : Srk. *saṃgo*.

8 The second edition of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhārādāsa (1205 A.D.) appeared posthumously in the name of Pt. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, Lahore, 1933 (Punjab University Series 15).

(c) For *asāra eva* : Srk. *asaṁstavāya*; for *virasaḥ* :  
Srk. *visaraḥ*

47. *bhaktiḥ preyasi saṁśriteṣu karuṇā śvaśrūṣu namraṇ  
śiraḥ  
prītir jñātiṣu gauravaṇi gurujane kṣāntiḥ kṛtāgasy  
api ||  
āmnātaḥ kulayoṣitāṇi vratavidhiḥ so 'yaṇi vidheyā  
punar  
madbhartur dayitā iti priyasakhībuddhiḥ sapatniṣv  
api ||*

Smk. 118.5: *kulavadhūvṛttapaddhatiḥ*; *Bilhaṇasya*; Śp.  
3756: *idem*; *Bilhaṇasya*.

Cp. Śak, 4.17 for similar idea.

48. *madhur māso ramyo vipinam ajanaṇi tvaṇi ca taruṇī  
sphuratkāṁāveṣe vayasī vyaṇi apy āhitabharāḥ |  
vraja tvaṇi vā mugdhe kṣaṇam iha vilambasva yadi vā  
punaḥ tāvaj jātaḥ piśunavacasāṁ eṣa viṣayaḥ ||*

Smk. 70.2 : *abhisāre kāmijanapralāpaḥ*; *Bilhaṇasya* (some  
MSS. anonym.); Srk. 1693 : *saṁkīrṇavrajyā*; *Vallaṇasya*.

*Variant :*

(c) For *vraja tvaṇi vā* : Srk. (ed.) *vrajatvambā*; which,  
however, is correctly replaced by the reading Smk. by  
D.H.H. Ingalls (Srk. Eng. tr. p. 579).

49. *manye pārvānacandramadhyasākālenāsūtritaiṣā cirād  
aṅgair adbhutabhaṅgibhiḥ pariṇatavyutpattinā vedhasā |  
yoṣitsargavilakṣaṇākṛtir iyaṇi yad dr̥ṣyate bhāti ca  
chidradvāravilokyamānagaganevādyāpī cāndrī tanuḥ ||*

Smk. 49.20 : *nāyikānāyakayor avalokanam*; *Bilhaṇasya*.

(a) *sūtrita*- "stringed together, shaped, created"; Vcar.  
8.76; 9.20; 11.23; 18.23, 35; Kārṇasu. 1.37, 41; 2.5.

50. *manye viśālāyataveśavīthī -  
vyājena devaḥ saha-kārabāṇaḥ |*



*gambhīrasaṃbhogamayāpavarga-  
praveśamārgaṃ racayāṇi cakāra ||*

Smk. 107.14 : *nagarīvarṇanapaddhatiḥ; Sarvajñavāsude-  
vasya*. In Bhand. rep. (p. xxxv) the versa is ascribed to  
Bilhaṇa.

51. *mātaṅgāḥ kim u valgitaiḥ kim aphalair āḍambarair  
jambukāḥ  
sāraṅgā mahiṣā madam tyajata kiṃ śūnye 'tha śūrā  
na ke |  
kopāṭopasamudbhaṭotkaṭasaṭākoṭer ibhāreḥ śanaiḥ  
sindhudhvānini huṅkṛte sphurati yat tadgarjitam  
garjitam ||*

Smk. 22.6 : *siṃhapaddhatiḥ; kasyāpi*. In Bhand. rep.  
(p. xxxiii) the verse is ascribed to Bilhaṇa.

*Variant :*

- (a) For *mātaṅgāḥ* : Bhand. rep. *mātaṅgaiḥ*.

52. *mukharamurajam paurastrībhir na lāsyam upāsyate  
sarasamadhuraṃ nāṭyāgāre na kījati vallakī |  
ahaha pahitadvāraṃ kasmād idaṃ paritāḥ puraṃ  
[viratasurata] vyāpāratvāt prasuptam ivākhilam ||*

Smk. 107-18 : *nagarīvarṇanapaddhatiḥ ; Bilhaṇasya*.

- (d) For *viratasurata-* of the edition : *sukharatarata-*  
reading of the MSS. is to be retained : "when the  
occupation is busy (*rata*) with the enjoyment (*rata-*  
n.) of happiness".

53. *mugdhasya te vada vidhūṃtuda kiṃ bhaṇāmi  
kiṃ muktavān asi mukhe patitaṃ śaśāṅkam |  
asyaiva bimbagalitena sudhārasena  
saṃdhānam eṣyati kathaṃ na jaratkabandhaḥ ||*

Smk. 40.7 ; *viyoginīpralāpapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya; Śp.*  
3430 : *idem.; Bilhaṇasya*.

## Variānts :

- (a) For *bhaṇāmi* : Śp. *vadāmi* (gloss).  
For the construction *mugdhasya te kiṃ bhaṇāmi* :  
cp. Vcar. 1.118; 18.6, 72.
- (c) For *asyaiva bimba-* : Śp. *asyādrabimba-*.
- (d) For *saṃdhānam eṣyati katham na* : Śp. *saṃdhānam eti tava kiṃ na*.

54. *yaḥ śrotrāṃtanirjharaiḥkavasatiṃ nirvyājam ārūḍhavān*  
*yaḥ sañjīvanamantritāṃ tṛiṇayanapluṣṭasya cetobhuvāḥ |*  
*vīṇāvan masṛṇo dhvaniś catasṛṇāṃ pātraṃ śruṣṭinām*  
*so 'yam kokilakaṇṭhahenuvivaravyāpārītaḥ pañ-*  
*camah ||*

Smk. 59.17 : *vasantavarṇanapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya*.

- (a) For *-vasatiṃ* read *-vasatir* ?
- (b) For *-mantritāṃ* read *-mantratāṃ* ("lifegiving spell").

55. *yat saṃbhāṣaṇālālaseva kuruṣe vaktrendum ardhāna-*  
*taṃ*  
*dhatse bāhulatārgalān kucataṣe niṣkrāntibhūtyeva yat |*  
*kiṃ vā mantrayate jano 'yam iti yat sarvatra*  
*śaṅkākulā*  
*taj jñātāṃ hṛdi ko 'pi tiṣṭhati yuvā prauḍhaś ca*  
*gūḍhaś ca te ||*

Smk. 39.1 : *sakhīpraśnapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya*. Smk. 599 ;  
*śṛṅgārapravāhe lakṣitavirahinī; Śilhaṇasya*.

## Variants :

- (a) For *-ardhānataṃ* : Skm. *-ardhonnataṃ*.
- (b) For *-argalān* : Skm. *-argalām*, seems better.
- (c) For *jñātāṃ* : Skm. *jāne*.

56. *yathā tārācakraṇi carati paritaḥ śikaranibhaṇ  
kalaṅkavyājena sphurati yad ayaṇ dhūmanivahaḥ |  
tathā manye caṇḍipatinayanacaṇḍāgnivaśagas  
cakārāsmiṇ jhampāṇ himakarataḥke mṛasijah | |*

Smk. 72.24 : *candrodayavarṇanapaddhatiḥ*; *Bilhaṇasya* (only one MS.). In Bhand. rep. (p.xxxiv) the verse is ascribed to Murāri (not found, however, in his extant work *Anargharāghava*).

57. *yasmin pure nivasatām ayaṃ eva lābho  
yat prātar eva sudṛśo gṛhavedikāsu |  
dhammillabhārāṇiyamonnatabāhumūla-  
saṃdārśanena nayanāni kṛtārthayanti | |*

Smk. 107.16 : *nagarīvarṇanapaddhatiḥ*; *Bilhaṇasya*.

58. *yenānargalaphālakelidalitapratyagrakāḍambinī-  
dhārādhoraṇidhautadhātuṣu purā śaileṣu līlāyitam |  
so 'yam śṛṅganipātabhagnacarayaḥ sphārasphurat-  
pheravī pherkātaiḥ kupito 'dy khādati punaḥ pāṇī  
mṛgagrāmāṇiḥ ||*

Smk. 22.8 : *siṃhapaddhatiḥ*; *Bherībhaṅkārasya*. In Bhand. rep. (p.xxxiii) the verse is ascribed to Bilhaṇa. Śp. 908 : *idem. Bilhaṇasya*.

*Variant :*

- (a) *phāla-* "jump"; Vcar. 4.103; 13.77; 17.59.  
(b) *-dhārādhoraṇidhauta-* : Vcar. 13.86 *-dhārādhoraṇid-  
hauta-*.  
(c) For *punaḥ* : Śp. *muhuh-* (glass).

59. *re mātāṅga madāmbuḍambaratayā rolaṃbarolaṇ vahan  
vanyānām avalambanaṇ vanam idaṇ bhaṅktuṇ yad  
utkaṇṭhase |  
dṛṣṭaḥ tat kim aho mahonnatadharādhaureyadhātṛi  
dhara-  
prasthaprasthitameghayūthamathānotkaṇṭhī na kaṇṭ-  
hīraṇaḥ ||*

Śp. 915 : *siṃhānyoktayaḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

- (a) Instead of nonsensical *rolambarolaṃ* : read *rolambakholam* "[carrying] a helmet of bees" (the closed "helmet" prevents the elephant from looking properly). ते for तवे is a simple mistake.

60. *lilāmīlanato vilocanayuge gacchanti mūrchām amī  
vaktre kecana mudraṇād adharayoḥ sīdanti śākhāmṛ-  
gāḥ |  
ye nāsāpuṭacārīṇaḥ śravaṇayor ye ca sthitāḥ koṭare  
yuddhavyagrakarasya te yadi paraṃ svasthāḥ kṣaṇaṃ  
rakṣasaḥ ||*

Smk. 95.6 : *adbhutapaddhatiḥ* ; anonym. In Bhand. rep. (p. xxxiv) the verse is ascribed to Bilhaṇa.

- (d) *yadi param* "if at all" : Vcar. 7.65; 18.99.

61. *luṭhaty aparavāridhau kamaṭhanirviśeṣaḥ śaṣī  
prarūḍham udayācale culakamātram uṣṇam mahāḥ |  
kṣaṇaṃ gaganavedikām idam anaṅkuṣaṃ gāhate  
kalindagirikanyakātaṭatamālanīlaṃ tamaḥ ||*

Smk. 82.20 : *prabhātavarṇanopaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.* Smk. 429 : *devapravāhe astamayaḥ; Śilhaṇasya.*

*Variant :*

- (a) For *kamaṭha*- "tortoise, a water jar made of a gourd or coconut (only in lexicons)": Smk. *kamala*- "lotus".
- (b) *culakamātram* : *culukā*- Vcar. 1.46; 6.24 (cp. also 16.44 *culukya*-). The word occurs in three different orthographaies : *culuka*-, *caluka*-, *culaka*.

The verse, however, is not attested in the Śāntiśataka, a work ascribed to Śilhaṇa (Silhaṇa), as it has come down to us (ed. Karl Schönfeld, Leipzig, 1910).

62. *vācas tāvad apekṣate pikayuvā lambālakānāṃ śriyaḥ  
bhṛṅgālī viruṇaddhi catūkalikā saubhāgyam āśaṃsati |*

kiñcānyat kathayāmi nirdaya daśā tasyās tathā  
 vartate  
 ni[h]śvāsān api hantum icchati yathā krūro vasan-  
 tāñilaḥ ||

Smk. 44.14: *nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktiḥ; Paraśurāmasya.*  
 In Bhand. rep. (p. xxxiv) the verse is ascribed to Bilhaṇa.

63. *viraktam anyapramadānuraktam  
 vimuktadākṣiṇyalavaṇi śaṭhaṇi ca |  
 yā saṇvṛṇīte khalu dūtikā sā  
 ko 'syāḥ samapremṇi jane prakarṣaḥ ||*

Smk. 41.2 : *dūtīpreṣaṇapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya*

64. *viśvakṣobhaṇi vidadhad ahahā kuṇḍalabhraṇśabhaṅgyā  
 prabhraṣṭābhyāṇi tapanaśaśavanmaṇḍalābhyām  
 ivābhyām |  
 paulastyastrikarakīsalayākṣipramuktākṣataṇi tat  
 rāmacchinnaṇi carati gagane kumbhakarṇottamāṅgam||*

- (c) For *-kṣipra-* read *-kṣipta-* "The head on which [auspicious] grain that were pearls [the women use pearls instead of usual grains]; were thrown by the women of Rāvaṇa".

Smk. 93.9 : *bhayaṇakapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

65. *vīro 'sau kim u varṇyate daśamukhaś chinnaiḥ śīrobhiḥ  
 svayaṇi  
 yaḥ pūjāsrajam utsuko ghaṭayitum devasya  
 khaṭvāṅginah |  
 sūtrārthī harakaṇṭhasūtrabhujagavyākaraṇāyodyataḥ  
 sātopaṇi pramathaiḥ kṛtabhrukuṭibhiḥ sthitvāntare  
 vārītaḥ ||*

Śp. 3991 : *vīrarasanirdeśaḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

66. *vṛthā gāthā[h]ślokaḥ alam alam alākāṇi mama  
 rujaṇi  
 kadācid dhūrto 'yaṇi kavīvacanam ity ākalayati |  
 idaṇi pārśve tasya prahīṇu sakhi lagnāñjanalava-  
 sravadbāṣpotpīḍagrathitalipi tāṇkaṇyugalam ||*

Smk. 41.6 : *dūtīpreṣaṇapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya*. Smk. 607 : *śṛṅgāraprāvāhe virahiṇīvacanam; Śilhaṇasya*.

*Variants :*

- (a) Editions write *gāthāślokaḥ*, which is hardly correct. cp. p. 1 on 1.74a.
- (b) For *ayam* : Smk. *asau*.
- (d) For *tāṭaṅka-* : *tāḍaṅka-*, which is the orthography of Bühler's Vcar. MS. : 1.102; 8.88.

67. *śalyāṇi marmāṇy api kīlītāni*  
*galanty ayaskāntamaṇeḥ prabhāvāt |*  
*hṛdi praviṣṭasya punar janasya*  
*na labhyate nirgamanābhyupāyaḥ ||*

Smk. 40.1 : *vīyoginīpralāpapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya*.

68. *śīghraṃ bhūmigrhe grhāṇa vasatīm prāṇaiḥ kim u*  
*krīḍasi*  
*prāptāṃ paśyasi naiva daivahatike jyotsnāṃ*  
*gavākṣodare |*  
*itthaṃ manmathatīvrasaṃjvaraṃjuṣāṇi gehēṣu*  
*vāmabhruvām*  
*udgacchanti kuraṅgalāñchanabhayād dīnāḥ sakhīnām*  
*giraḥ ||*

Smk. 38.26 : *virahīnyavasthāpaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya*. Śp. 3411 ; *idem.*; *Bilhaṇasya* (Aufrecht, ZDMG 27, p. 58 also to Bilhaṇa).

*Variants :*

- (b) For *naiva* : Śp. *kiṃ na*; for *gavākṣodare* : Śp. *gavākṣodaraḥ*.
- (c) For *-juṣāṇi* : ZDMG 27 *puṣām* is an obvious mistake, cp. Böhtlingk, ZDMG 27 (1873) p. 634.

69. *śucir iti paritaḥ prasiddhibhāji*  
*prakaṭitetejasi durjaye kṛśānau |*  
*nijavasunikurumbam astavelā-*  
*vyatikaravān nidadhe sarojabandhuḥ ||*

Smk. 68.4 : *sūryāstamayavarṇanapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

Śp. 3593 : *sūryāstavarṇanacakravākāvasthākhyānam;  
Bilhaṇasya.*

Variant :

(c) For *-nikurumbam* : Śp. *-nikurambam.*

On *velā-* in the sense of "time", cp. above p. 50.

(d) On *vyatikara-* "action/effectation" cp. below on v. 77a.

70. *śete 'dyāpi na padminī kumudinī sāntaḥsmitā vartate  
rāgāt kiṇca na kiṇcid eva gaṇayaty eṣa sprśaty  
ambaram  
ity udbhinnamṛṇālakomalakare śītadyutau tatkṣaṇād  
yāminyā navayoṣiteva śamito dīptas tviṣām īśvaraḥ||*

(d) For *dītās* : read *dīpras*, cp above l.68 on verse 64c.

Smk. 72.1 : *candrodayavarṇanapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

71. *saṁdhānakṣaṇa eva rāghavaśarair ye bāhavaḥ  
khaṇḍitās  
tadbāṇān pariḥṭya śīghram apare karṣanty amarṣād  
dhanuḥ|  
prārabdhāṁ tu daśānanasya vidaladvārṇām apūrṇām  
giraṁ  
mūrdhānaḥ paripūrayanti viśikhair anyatra nītā api||*

Smk. 92.22 : *vīrapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

72. *sarvasvaṁ gṛhavarti kuntalapatir gṛhṇātu tan me punar  
bhāṇḍāgāram akhaṇḍam eva hṛdaye jāgarti  
sārasvatam|  
bhoḥ kṣudrās tyajata pramodam acirād eṣyanti man-  
mandīram  
helāndolitakarnatālakaraṭiskandhādhirūḍhāḥ śriyaḥ | |*

Smk. 2150 : *apadeśapravāhe guṇigarvaḥ; Śilhaṇasya*, but in the second edition (Punjab Univ. Ser., 15) the verse is ascribed to Bilhaṇa.

The verse is not attested in the Śāntiśataka (ed. Schönfeld, Leipzig 1910) a work ascribed to Śilhaṇa. It is the very beginning verse of the Kashmirian recension of the Caurap. (ed. W. Solf, 1886), cp. also Caurap. (ed. Tad-patrikar) app. 4. 1, and the *kuntalapati*- must than be Vikramāditya. From this verse in Caurap. some scholars have concluded that Bilhaṇa took at some time offence with Vikramāditya (cp. M. Krishnamachariar, Hist. of Classical Sans. Lit., 1970, p. 165). This might have happened when Vikramāditya would have appointed someone as his Vidyāpati.

73. *sā dūti dhatte yadi roṣaṇatvaṃ  
tad dūṣaṇatvena na śaṅkanīyam/  
sādhutvaṃ āyāti rasāntareṇa  
karambitā puṇḍrakaśarkarā 'pi | |*

Smk. 41.5 : *dūtīpreṣaṇapaddhatiḥ ; Bilhaṇasya.*

*Variant :*

- (c) For *sādhutvaṃ* : the reading of MS. (*ka*) *svādhutvaṃ* seems preferable.
- (d) *karambita*- "mixed with", also : Vcar. 10.60 ; 13.13, 20;  
*puṇḍraka*- "a kind of sugar read", also Vcar. 1.20;  
*puṇḍrakaśarkarā*-; 14.35; 16.13. The *api* obviously belongs to *karambita*-.

74. *siddhāṅganās tava yaśāṃsi ratāntareṣu  
gāyanti yena ratakhedaṃ apākaroti/  
utsaṅgasāṅgatakuraṅgakaromaharṣa -  
gharṣasravannavaghanāmytabindur induh | |*

Smk. 97.42 : *rājavarṇanapaddhatiḥ ; Bilhaṇasya.*

75. *soḍhaprauḍhahimaklamāni śanakatīḥ patitrāṇy adhaḥ  
kurvate  
saṃbhāvyaḥcadavāñchayā hi taravaḥ kecit kṛtaghnav-  
ratāḥ |*



*nāmanyanta tadātanīm api nijacchāyākṣatiṃ taitiḥ*  
*teṣāṃ eva tale kṛtajñācaritaiḥ śuṣyadbhir evāsyate ||*  
*punas*

Smk. 33.8 : *vrkṣapaddhatih* ; Bilhaṇasya. Skm. 1885 :  
*apadeśapravāhe tāruḥ*; Acalasiṃhasya. Srk. 1042 : *anyāpa-*  
*deśavrajyā*; annoym. .

*Variants :*

(b) For *-vāñchayā hi* : Smk., Srk. *vāñchayaiva*.

(d) For *śuṣyadbhir eva* : Smk., Srk. *śuṣyadbhir apy*

It is the only clear example of an *anyāpadeśa*- verse (allegorical epigrams) ascribed to Bilhaṇa. It is unique also insofar as a tree is described as ungrateful, while trees often are considered to be an example of gratitude (cp. D.H.H. Ingalls, Srk., Eng. tr., p. 302, para., 34).

76. *sthāne sthāne malayamarutaḥ pūrayanty aṅkapālīm*  
*puṣpālīṣu smaragajarajaḥsnānāyogyāḥ parāgāḥ |*  
*jātaṃ cūte madhu madhukarapreyasījānudaghnāṃ*  
*nirviḡhnatvaṃ sapadi bhajate rāgarājyābhiṣekaḥ ||*

Smk. 59.14 : *vasantavarṇanapaddhatih*; Bilhaṇasya. Śp. 3792 : *vasantasvabhāvākhyānam*; Bilhaṇasya.

*Variant :*

- (d) For *rāgarājya-* : Śp. *rājarājya-*. *aṅkapālī-* "circumference of the lap" : Vcar. 13.12, 70 (*kapolapālī* in 6.4 "circumference of the cheek").

There are altogether seven verses, describing the spring season (*vasantavarṇanapaddhatih*), quoted from Bilhaṇa in Srk. 59.14, 15, 17, 25, 26, 27, 28. The present verse and 59.17 (above no. 54), 59.28 (above no. 28) are not attested in any of his extant works while the others are found in Vcar. 7.5, 63, 70, 71.

77. *spṛśantyāḥ kṣāmatvaṃ madanaśaraṭaṅkavyatikarāt*  
*kuraṅgākṣyās tasyāḥ śṛṇu subhaga kautūhalaṃ idam |*  
*apūrveti trāsāt pariharati tāṃ kelihariṇī*  
*na viśve 'py āśvāsaṃ dadhati gṛhalīlāsakunayaḥ ||*

Smk. 44.17 : *nāyakasyāgre dūtyuktīḥ; Bilhaṇasya. Skm. śṛṅgārapravāhaḥ; kasyacit.*

*Variants :*

- (a) *vyatikara-* "reciprocal action" (from *vyati—kr*) to be separated from *vyatikara-* "mixing, blending together, union, contact", from (*vyati kr*) is used here in the sense of simple "action, effect [of a weapon]". Just so in Vcar. 7.68... *śastravyatikara-* "effect of weapons...", and Smk. 68.4 etc. (see above verse 69)... *...astavelāvyatikaravanti-* "showing the action/effect of the evening time".

- (c) For *trāsāt* : Skm. *trastā*.

78. *svaṛṇaiḥ skandhaparigraho marakatair ullāsītāḥ  
paṭlavā  
muktābhīḥ stabakaśriyo madhulihāṇī vṛndāni nīlot-  
palaiḥ |  
saṃkalpānuvidhāyī yasya phalitāṃ kaś tasya dhatte  
tulāṃ |  
dhig jātiṃ drumasaṃkathāsu yad ayaṃ kalpadrumo 'pi  
drumaḥ ||*

Śp. 988 ; *vrkṣaviśeṣānyoktayaḥ; Ralhaṇasya. Ascribed to Bilhaṇa by Th. Aufrecht (ZDMG 27, 1873, p. 58).*

- (b) For *nīlotpalaiḥ* "with blue lotuses" which does not make sense, read *nīlopalaiḥ* "with blue stones (sapphires)".

*Variant :*

- (d) For *dhig jātiṃ* : Aufrecht *dhig jātu*.

79. *hā vatsa kva gato 'si dehi vacanaṃ kenādhunā  
madgīrā  
bhajyantām atidāruṇāḥ phaṇipuradvārargalākoṭayaḥ |*

*paulastyo 'sya na laṅghate vacanam ity āgatya patyā  
samaṇ  
paulomī kva karotu rāvaṇaruṣaḥ śāṁtyartham  
abhyarthanam ||*

Smk. 90.9 : *karuṇapaddhatiḥ; Bilhaṇasya.*

Lament thought to be spoken by Rāvaṇa's mother Kaikasī after his death. Line (b) alludes to Rāmāyaṇa 7.21.

### *Postscript*

(This verse has to be inserted between the verses 5 and 6, see above p. 70-71.)

*aye helāvelātulitakulaśaile jalamidhau  
kuto vārām oghaṇṇ bata jalada moghaṇṇ vītarasi |  
samantād uttālajvaladanalakīlākavalana-  
klamopetān etān upacara payobhir viṭapinaḥ ||*

Śp. 775 : *meghānyoktayah; Bilhaṇasya.* ZMDG 27 p. 55, also to Bilhaṇa.

Verses allegedly concerning Bilhaṇa's love episode.

1. *aṅgaṇaṃ tad idam ummadadvipa-  
śreṇiṣonitavihārīṇo hareḥ |  
ullasattaruṇakelipallavāṃ  
śallakīm tyajati kiṃ mataṅgaḥ ||*

Śp. 567 *praśnottarākyānam*; *pūrvārdhaṃ taccittaparīk-  
ṣikāyā rājakanyāyā uktiḥ | uttarārdhaṃ tadanuraktasya  
Bilhaṇasya pratyuktiḥ.*

Cp. Caurap. (ed. Tadpatrikar, Poona. 1966, *pariśiṣṭa*  
1 v. 31; 2 v. 77).

2. *amuṣmai caurāya svarasahatamṛtyupratibhiye  
prabhuḥ prītaḥ prādād upahṛtavasādadvayakṛte |  
suvarṇānāṃ koṭīr daśa daśanukoṣṭhaḥ kṣatagiriṇ  
karīṇdrān apy aṣṭau madamuditaguṇjanmadhulihāḥ ||*

Smk. 2144 : *apadeśaprayāhe kavidānam; Amaroḥ.*

3. *alam aticapalatvāt svapnamāyopamatvāt  
parīṇativirasatvāt saṅgamenāṅganāyāḥ |  
iti yadi śatakr̥tvas tattvam ālocayāmas  
tad api na hariṇākṣiṃ vismaraty antarātmā ||*

Śp. 566 : *praśnottarākhyānam*; *pūrvārdham śikṣāṃ dadato  
guror uktiḥ | uttarārdhaṃ ca rājakanyāmuraktasya Bil-  
haṇasya bhittilekhapratyuktiḥ* Srk. 477 : *anurāgavrajyā;  
Dharmakīrtiḥ.*

Variant :

- (b) For *aṅganāyāḥ* : Srk. *priyāyāḥ*, is an attempt at improvement. For further quotations : Srk. *ad  
versum.*

4. *nirarthakaṃ janma gataṃ nalīnyā  
yayā na dṛṣṭaṃ tuhināṃsubimbam*

*utpattir indor api niṣphalaiva  
dṛṣṭā vinidrā nalinī na yena ||*

Śp. 568 : *praśnottarākhyānam; pūrvārdhaṃ rājakanyānu-  
raktasya Bilhaṇasyoktiḥ | uttarārdhaṃ tadanuraktacittāyā  
rājakanyāyāḥ...* (Repeated in Śp. 762 : *meghānyoktayaḥ;  
kasyāpi*). Subh. 1964 : *candrodayaḥ; Bilhaṇarājakanyayoḥ.*

*Variant :*

(d) In Subh. the line reads : *na yena dṛṣṭā nalinī vibuddhā.*  
For further quotations : Subh. Note p. 62.

Eulogies (*praśastī*) of Bilhaṇa

1. *kaśmīrebhyaḥ viniryātaṃ kāle kalaśabhūpateḥ |*  
*vidyāpatiṃ yaṃ karṇāṭaś cakre parmāḍibhūpatiḥ | |*  
*prasarpataḥ karaṭibhiḥ karṇāṭakakāntare |*  
*rājño 'gre dadṛśe tuṅgaṃ yasyaivā 'tapavāraṇam | |*  
*tyāgiṇaṃ harṣadevaṃ sa śrutvā sukavibāndhavam |*  
*bilhaṇo<sup>9</sup> vañcanāṃ mene vibhūtiṃ tāvatīṃ api | |*

Rājat. 7. 935 - 937.

(a) Ed. A. Stein : *viniryātaṃrājye*.

2. *bindudvandvatarāṅgitāgrasīraṇiḥ kartā śīrobīndukaṃ*  
*karmeti pratibodhitānvayavido ye ke 'pi tebhyaḥ namaḥ |*  
*ye tu granthasahasraśāṇakasaṇatruṭyatkalaṅkair girām*  
*ullekhaiḥ kavayanti bilhaṇakavis teṣv eva saṃnahyati | |*

Karṇasu., *granthakartuḥ praśastiḥ* 3. (cp. n. 11, on v. 4 below) Smk. 2148 : *apadeśappravāhe guṇigarvaḥ; Vallāṇasya; Smk. 4. 106 : kavikāvya-praśamsā; anonym. (but one MS. Bilhaṇa- )*.

*Variants :*

(b) For *pratibodhitānvayavido* : Smk. *anvayakalpanāṃ vi-*  
*dadhate*. Smk. *kraamaśikṣitānvayakathā*.

(d) For *ullekhaiḥ* : Smk. *ullāsaiḥ*; for *bilhaṇakavis* :  
*vallaṇakaviḥ*. Smk. *ralhaṇakaviḥ* (but MS. *ka* reads  
*bilhaṇakaviḥ*) : for *saṃnahyati* : Smk., Smk. *saṃna-*  
*hyate*.

3. *bilhaṇasya kaveḥ prāpta-*  
*prasādaiva sarasvatī |*  
*nīyate jātu kālūṣyaṃ*  
*durjanair na dhanair api | |*

Kīrtikaumudī<sup>10</sup> I.19.

9 For *Bilhaṇo* : *Rilhaṇo* in some of the Rājat. MSS. (cp. ed. Vishva Bandhu, *ad versum*) is a more conspicuous instance of confusion between Bilhaṇa and Rilhaṇa/Ralhaṇa.

10 Someśvara-deva, *Kīrtikaumudī* : a life of Vastupāla. Edited by Ābhāji Vishnu Kāthavaṭe. Bombay, Govt. Central Book Depot, 1883 (BSS. 25).

4. *bhaṭṭaśrībilhaṇo 'syāḥ kavir akalūṣadhīḥ siddhayaḥ*  
*sāhasānāṃ*  
*sraṣṭuḥ śiṣṭopakāravrataparamaguroḥ saṃmukhā yasya*  
*tās tāḥ |*  
*ardhe candrārdhamauler viracitavasatir devatā sūpti*  
*yasmai*  
*sabdabrahmābhyanujñāṃ samupaniṣadā bālyā evādideśa | |*  
 Karṇasu., *granthakartuḥ praśastiḥ*<sup>11</sup> v.1.

(b) Read *sṛṣṭuḥ* for *śraṣṭaḥ*, which is obviously a simple misprint !

(d) For the idea cp. Vcar. 18.81.

5. *malhaṇo bilhaṇaś ceti*  
*vidyete satkavīsvarau |*  
*tatrāpi bilhaṇo nāma*  
*kavirāṭ kathyate budhaiḥ | |*

Bilhaṇacarita (unpublished) colophon v.6.<sup>12</sup>

6. *yanmūlaṃ karuṇānidhiḥ sa bhagavān Valmīkajanmā munir*  
*yasyaika kavayaḥ parāśarasutaprāyāḥ pratiṣṭhāṃ dadhuḥ |*  
*sadyo yaḥ pathi kālīdāsavacasāṃ śrībilhaṇaḥ so 'dhunā*  
*nirvyājaṃ phalitaḥ sahaiva kusumottamaṣena kalpad-*  
*rumaḥ | |*

Karṇasu., *granthakartuḥ praśastiḥ* v.2.

7. *vapur yām āvāsah kucaparivṛtaś cedinṛpatiḥ*  
*paribhrāntā ratnākaraparidhir eṣā vasumatī |*  
*na muktivā rāmāṇāṃ padam iha śīro 'nyasya namitaṃ*  
*kavīndrai rājendrar lalitam iyaṭī bilhaṇakathā | |*

Smk. 4. 102 : *kavikāvya-praśamsā*; anonym. .Seems partly obscure.

11 The verses seem to be a later interpolation, appended in the end of the Karṇasu. (3rd ed., 1932, p. 56, KM (new series) 7).

12 Cp. Madras Govt. Orient. MSS. Lib. Descrip. Cat., Vol. 20 (*kāvya*) 1918 No. 11975 (End v. 6) p. 8004.

8. *valmīkaprabhaveṇa rāmanṛpatir vyāsena dharmātmajo  
vyākhyātaḥ kila kālīdāskavinā śrīvikramāṅko nṛpaḥ |  
bhojaś cittapa bilhaṇaprabhṛtibhiḥ karno 'pi vidyāpateḥ ॥  
khyātim yānti naresvaraḥ kavivaraiḥ sphārair na bheri-  
ravaiḥ | |*

Subh. 186 : *kavikāvya-praśaṃsā; kasyāpi.*

(c) *Cittapa* : also spelt *Chittapa*-, (cp. D.D. Kosambi, *Srk.*, Introd. p. xxvi).

9. *vāsaḥ śubhram ṛtur vasantasamayoḥ puṣpaṃ śaranmallikā  
dhānuṣkaḥ kusumāyudhoḥ parimalaḥ kastūrikāstram  
dhanuḥ |  
vāṇī tarkarasojjvalā priyatamā śyāmā vayo yauvanaṃ  
mārgaḥ śāmbhava eva pañcamalayā gītīḥ kavir bilhaṇaḥ ||*

Śp. 1559 : *miśrakanūtiḥ; Bilhaṇasya. Smk: 4.103 : kavi-  
kāvyā-praśaṃsā; anonym.*

*Variants :*

- (c) For *vāṇī tarkarasojjvalā* : *Smk. vācas tarkarasojjvalāḥ;*  
for *vayo yauvanaṃ* : *Smk. vapur nūtanam*, cp: above  
p. 59 on 8.86.
- (d) For *śāmbhava* : *Smk. saugata.*

It should be said that the concept "road" (*mārga*) fits much better with "*saugata*", "of the Bhuddha" (Gotama or Mahāvīra), than "*śāmbhava*", "of Śiva".

The authorship of Bilhaṇa can hardly be considered to be settled.<sup>13</sup>

13 There is mention of another Bilhaṇa (i) son of Kalhaṇa, grandson of Yaśaḥpāla, who wrote *Sārasamuccaya* (cp. Th. Aufrecht, C.C. pt. 2, p. 112); (ii) Kacaṇa Bilhaṇa Kavi, who wrote *Trirūpakoṣa* (cp. Th. Zachariae, *Die indischen Woerterbücher*, Strassburg: 1897 p. 38; Winternitz, *Gesch. d. Ind. Lit. Ed. 3 p. 409 n.*); Aufrecht, C.C., pt. 2 s.v.); (iii) Bilhaṇa as writer of a *Alamkāraśāstra* and other works, cp. Aufrecht, C.C. s.v.



The verse is also attested in the Bilhaṇastava<sup>14</sup> (a manuscript ascribed to Bilhaṇa, Madras Govt. Orient. MSS. Lib. Descrip. Cat., Vol. 19 (*stotras*) 1915, Nos. 11071-73) with (b) *dhāvantaḥ; parimalaṇi* (d) *śāṅkara; pañcanilayā*. Cp. also Caurap. (ed. Tad-patrikar) *Parīṣiṣṭa* 2 v. 14.

14 Whether the Śivastuti, another small poem in praise of Śiva, ascribed to Bilhaṇa (cp. Krishnamachariar, *Hist. of Class. Sans. Lit.*, 1970 p. 166) is identical with the Bilhaṇastava seems not yet to have been investigated.

*A Concordance of the Verses Ascribed to Bilhāṇa in  
Anthologies,<sup>15</sup>*

Verse No.	1 Srk.	2 Skm.	3 Smk.	4 Bhand. rep.	5 Sp. ZDMG vol.27	6 Subh.
1			90.19			
2			93.5			
3			62.5		<b>3911</b>	
4			<b>71.9</b>	p.35		
5		<b>2367</b>	49.11		<b>3518</b>	
6	<b>723</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>40.3</b>		3427	p.55 <b>1113</b>
7			4.11			
8					946	
9			41.3		3438	
10			97.43			<b>2554</b>
11	<b>624</b>		<b>44.13</b>	p.34	<b>3489</b>	
12	<b>1361<sup>16</sup></b>					
13			<b>107.13</b>	p.35		
14			95.7		4018	
15	<b>1494<sup>17</sup></b>	<b>2124</b>	<b>26.10</b>		<b>261</b>	
16	<b>834</b>	<b>899</b>	70.13			
17	23					
18			40.7			
19			44.20		<b>3477</b>	

<sup>15</sup> If a verse ascribed to Bilhāṇa in a particular anthology is attested to also in other such sources but under different ascription, the reference for the latter is bold face in the table. For details of such ascriptions and the text variants refer to the respective verse number.

<sup>16</sup> Edition *ad versum* records : *Bilhāṇaśatakāt* from Pad. p. 91.59.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. *ad versum* : Pad. p.91.57 *Bilhāṇaśatakāt*; Ssm. 1308 *Bilhāṇasya*.

	1	2	3	4	5
Verse No.	Srk.	Skm.	Smk.	Bhand. rep.	Śp. ZDMG vol.27 Subh.
20 <sup>18</sup>					
21			2.102	p.33	
22			44.18	3475	
23			22.9	p.33	913 p.56
24			43.41		
25			40.8		
26			63.7		
27			40.9		
28			59.28		
29			41.4		
30			86.2	3307	
31			44.19		
32			2.52		
33			1.11		
34			5.1	193	p.56
35			44.15		
36			5.2	p.33 194	p.57
37				924	p.57
38			43.26	3468	p.57 1280
39	536	647	44.16 <sup>19</sup>	3488	
40			95.8		
41					1952
42			49.12	3517	

18 Sūktiratnahāra 32.33. Ed. K. Śāmbaśiva Śāstrī, 1938 (TSS. 141).

19 The verse is identified in Karpasu, 2.29.

Verse No.	1 Sr̥k.	2 Sk̥m.	3 Sm̥k.	Bhand. rep.	4 Śp. ZDME vol.27	5 Subh.
43			107.5	p.35		
44			82.19			
45			43.42			
46	1610 <sup>20</sup>	2276 <sup>21</sup>				
47			118.5		3756	p.57
48	1693		70.2			
49			49.20			
50			107.14	p.35		
51			22.6	p.33		
52			107.18			
53			40.6		3430	p.58
54			59.17			
55	599		39.1			
56			72.24			
57			107.16			
58			22.8	p.33	908	
59					915	p.58
60			95.6	p.34		
61		429	82.20			
62			44.14	p.34		
63			41.2			
64			93.9			
65					3991	p.58
66		607	41.6			
67			40.1			
68			38.26		3411	p.58
69			68.4		3593	p.58
70			72.1			
71			92.22			
72		2150 <sup>22</sup>				

20 Ed. records : S 3 *Bilhaṇasya*; Pad. p. 90.52 *Bilhaṇasatakāt*; Ssm. 1018 *Bilhaṇasya*.

21 Skm. editio secunda : *Bilhaṇasya*.

22 Skm. editio secunda : *Bilhaṇasya*.

Verse No.	1 Srk.	2 Skm.	3 Smk.	4 Bhand. rep.	5 Śp. ZDMG vol.27	Subh.
73			41.5			
74			97.42			
75	1042	1885	33.8			
76			59.14	3792	p.58	
77		644	44.17			
78				988	p.58	
79			90.9			
Eulogy						
Verse						
No.						
2		2148	4.106 <sup>23</sup>			
8			4.103	1559		
Post-						
script						
Verse						
No.						
1				775	p.55	

23 One MS. to Bilhaṇa, cp. Smk. *ad versum*.

## Mention of and Quotations from Bilhana in other Works

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### A. In Anthologies :

Srk. : see above Chapter 4.

Skm. : see above Chapter 3 and 4.

Smk. : see above Chapter 3 and 4.

Śp. : see above Chapter 3 and 4.

Subh. : see above Chapter 3 and 4.

Sūktiratnahāra (TSS. 141) : see above Chapter 4.

Padyaracanā ;<sup>1</sup> pp. 33, 35, 38, 45, 64, 66, 91.

Śatakatrāyādi - subhāṣitasamgraha of Bhartṛhari (ed. D.D. Kosambi), v. 138 (=Karnasu. 1.46); 839 (=Bilhanakāvya<sup>58</sup>.

Śāntiśataka (ed. K. Schönfeld) v. 33, cp. also Introd.

p. 39-43.

Bṛihat śārṅgadharapaddhati.<sup>2</sup>

### B. In Alaṅkāra Works :

1 Kpr. (ed. ASS. 89) : v. 198; 300 (Bhand. rep. from Bilhana, cp. above p. 86 (v. 51).

Alaṅkāras., Ruyyaka (ed. KM. 35) : pp. 60 (Vcar. 116); 64 (Vcar. 7.6); 77 (Vcar. 8.9); 108 (Vcar. 1.11, 12; 7.8, 10); 119 (Vcar. 7. 11).

Citramīmāṃsā of Appayyadīkṣita (ed. Varanasi, 1965) pp.

1 Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇa Sāstrī Aṅkolakara; an anthology compiled between A.D. 1625-50 (cp. P.K. Gode, JOR, (Madras), 14, 1941, pp. 184 f.), Bombay, Nirṇaya-sāgara Pr. 1908 (KM. 89).

2 The work is reported to have been published in Benares 1931 (=A.D. 1875), by A.D. Pusalkar, P.K. Gode Commemoration Volume, 1960, pt. 3, pp. 157 f.

165, 171 : Dharānandī on Cit. (Vcar. 8.9), 255 (Vcar. 1.116), 284 (Vcar. 7.6).

Sāh. of Viśvanātha 10 on *vinokti* (ed. Kāṇḍe, 1965, p. 40)<sup>3</sup>

C. In other works and articles

Kalhaṇa, Rājatarāṅgiṇī (ed. Vishva Bandhu), 7. 935-37.

Arjunavarmadeva in his Rasikasamjīvanī on Amaruśataka (ed. KM. 18) on v.32...*kṛtvā nūpuramūkatāṃ caranayoḥ*... : Kāśmīraka Bilhaṇasya.

Madras Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library Descriptive Catalogue, vol. 19 (*stotras*) 1915, nos. 11071 - 73.

It registers three MSS. of a Bilhaṇastava ascribed to Bilhaṇa. For another MS. of the said work written in Telugu script, cp. Madras Govt. Orient. MSS. Lib., An Alphabetical Index, pt. 1, no. T 3165. Cp. M. Krishna-machariar, Hist. of Class. Sans. Lit., 1970, p. 166, for the Śivastuti, a small poem in praise of Śiva, ascribed to Bilhaṇa

D. Some doubtful allusions to Bilhaṇa

Vallabhadeva on Śiś. (ed. Nirṇaya - sāgar Press), Kavi-varṇasavarṇana v.5.<sup>4</sup>

Jaina - stotra - samgraha. Part 1 [containing...Pārśva -Jainastava of a Bilhaṇa Kavi...]. Benares : Candraprabhā Press, 2432 [=1906].

Gode, P.K., Studies on the History of Indian plants—some notes on the history of *Caṇaka* (*Cicer Arietinum*) Between 500 B. C. and A.D. 1820. ABORI, 27, pp.56 - 82 (=Studies in Indian Culture, Vol. 1, p. 208).

Refers to Sārasamuccaya, a treatise on Horses by one Kalhaṇa son of Bilhaṇa (MS. No. 119 of 1866-68 in the

<sup>3</sup> For quotations of this verse in other Alaṃkāra works, cp. Srk. 477 *ad versum*.

<sup>4</sup> But the same is missing in Hultsch's German tr. of Śiś., Leipzig 1926, p. 224; Introd. p. 4n.

Govt. MSS. Library, B.O.R. I., Poona). The work has, however, been ascribed conversely to Bilhaṇa in some MSS., cp. Th. Aufrecht, C.C. pt. 2 s.v. .

Gode, P.K. Studies in the History of Indian Plants - The Use of Caṇaka (gram) as horse - food vouched by five Sanskrit treatises on the Aśvaśāstra. *Prācyavāṇī*, Jan. - April 1946, pp. 35 - 39 (=Studies in Indian Cultural History, Vol. 1, 242-44).

The author has discussed the date and authorship of the *Sārasamuccaya*, ascribed to Kalhaṇa, son of Bilhaṇa, or to Bilhaṇa himself.

Zachariae, Theodor. Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kośa). Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1897, p.38.

Mention of *Trirūpakōśa* by Kacaṇa Bilhaṇa Kavi, cp. also Aufrecht, C.C. pt. 1, p. 71; Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Lit.*, Bd. 3, p. 409n. .



## Bibliography of Bilhana and his Works

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The aim of this bibliography is to gather the published literature related to Bilhana and his works and thereby to provide a convenient medium of reference for all those interested in further studies and research on this topic. The bibliography includes, in the main, books and articles of literary merit. A select list of writings, however, which throw some light on the historical events referred to in Bilhana's epic *kāvya*, Vikramāṅkadevacarita, is added at the end.

The entries, listed in this bibliography, have been examined personally as far as possible within the time limits and while staying at Tübingen. In other cases I had to rely on the Catalogues of the India Office Library, British Museum, London School of Oriental and African Studies, and of the Library of Congress. Every attempt has been made to be as complete as possible. Corrections or additions will be gratefully accepted.

### A. KARṆASUNDARĪ

#### a. Text editions

1. Karṇasundarī [a Sanskrit drama in four acts]; ed. by Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab. Bombay: Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, 1888. [Kāvya-mālā, 7].

Second ed. 1895; third ed. 1932. The only ed. available, based on a single MS. A new and critical ed. is a long desideratum since three more MSS. are reported in the New C.C. 3 P. 185. Editors have provided an index to verses in the beginning of the third ed. and have also recorded their conjecture in doubtful cases,

## b. Translations

2. Karṇasundarī [nāṭikā in 4 acts on the romance of the Cālukya ruler Karṇa of Anhilvāḍa (1664-94)]; tr. into Marāṭhī by Vāmana Śāstrī. Bombay, 1891.
3. Karṇasundarī [nāṭikā in four acts]; tr. into Telugu by Kappagantula Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī and Madirāju Viśva-nātha Rao. Vanaprati (Andhra Pradesh) : Vanaprati-saṁsthānam. 1947.

## B. VIKRAMĀṆKADEVACARITA

## a. Text editions

4. Vikramāṅkadevacarita; a life of King Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa, composed by his Vidyāpati Bilhaṇa; ed. with an Eng. introd. by Georg Bühler. Bombay : Govt. Central Book-depot, 1875. 46, 168, 2p. (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 14).

The *editio princeps*, based on a single MS. is printed in Devanāgarī together with editor's emendatory and conjectural readings. Introduction contains summary of the text, historical discussions about King Vikramāditya and some information pertaining to the MS. .

5. Vikramāṅka-deva-caritam...Rāmā-vaṭāra-Śarmaṇā saṁskṛtaṁ [ed. by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā]. Benares : Jñāna-maṇḍala Press, 1978 [=1921]. 1, 4, 2, 153p.

This edition, which is full of inaccuracies, seems to have been associated by someone with the great name of Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍita Rāmāvatāra Śarmā.

6. Vikramāṅkadevacaritam Mahākāvyaṁ; ed. [with an elaborate Sanskrit introd.], by Murārī Lāl Nāgar. Benares: Govt. Sanskrit College, 1945. 2, [2], 12, 40, 325, 42, [6]. p., fold. map, tabs., app., (The Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Text Series, 82).

This ed., which has invariably been referred to by me as *editio secunda*, is in fact a great improvement on

the previous edd. by way of collating the MSS. thoroughly recording the text variants, emendatory and conjectural readings. A detailed account of the critical apparatus has been given in the twelve pages of the *prastāvanā*. An elaborated introduction of forty pages, an alphabetical list of proper names, an index to the verses, an extensive gloss, a map of the Chola and Chālukya empire, a reproduction of the Nīlgunda copper plate inscription of Vikramāditya VI, dynastical tables of the Lohara, Chola and Western Chalukyas, and a concordance of important king-names, make this edition still more useful.

- ✓ 7. Vikramāṅkadevacaritam Mahākāvyaṃ ; rev. and ed. with 'Ramā' Sanskrit comm. and tr. into Hindi by Viśvanātha Śāstrin Bhāradvāja (Vishwanath Shastri Bharadwaj). Vol. I, Cantos 1-7, Vol. II, Cantos 8-13, Vol. III, Cantos 14-18 . Banaras : Sanskrit Sahitya Res. Comm. of the University, 1958-64 . [6], 4, 16, 4, 470, 5, 14, 3; [6], 12, 408; [6], 2, 32, 266, 2, 8, 7, 3p., pl., fold. map, tab., app . .

The edition, referred to by me as *editio tertia*, provides a running Sanskrit comm. and a Hindi tr. .The editor in his introd. to every volume has given a resume of the contents, partly in Sanskrit (Vol. I and II) partly in Hindi (Vol. III) and has quoted some verses from the then unpublished work entitled Ayyaṇa-vaṃśacaritakāvya, in his historical discussion (cf. vol. 2, p. 3f.). No v l. is recorded except cases where the editor has come up with his own conjecture. Other features, viz. index to verses and proper names, genealogical tabs., map, inscription etc. have been mostly reproduced, as such, from the *editio secunda*.

#### b. Fragments

8. Saṃskṛta-pāṭhāvali. The Sanskrit reader, 3 vols, [containing selections...; vol. II from the...Vikramāṅkadevacarita, etc.] Saṃskṛta-pāṭhāvaliḥ. A Monthly Magazine

of Sanskrit Literature. Bombay : Nirṇaya-Sāgara-Press 1884-87. Various pagination.

9. Vikramāṅkadevacaritam, canto 1, tr. into Hindi by Rāma-candraśarmā Pandeya. Varanasi : Chowkamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1960<sup>1</sup>. 6, 19p. (Haridasa Sanskrit Series, 254).
- ✓ 10. Vikramāṅkadevacarita of Mahākavi Vilhaṇa [Bilhaṇa], canto 1; ed. with the 'Sucāru'-'Surabhi' Sanskrit-Hindi Commentaries by Gaṇānana Śāstrī Musalagāonkar. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1969. 47, 80p. (Haridas Sanskrit Series, 279).<sup>1</sup>

#### c. Translations

11. Vikramāṅkadevacaritam; oder as Leben des Königs Vikramāditya; ein Gedicht des kashmirer Dichters Bilhaṇa aus dem Sanskrit; mit Ausnahme der Episoden übers. und mit Anmerkungen versehen von August Haack. Ratibor : Druck von J. Schimitzek, 1897. 100, 22p.

A copy of it, as informed to me by Prof. Thieme, was on the shelves of the Seminar for Indology of the University of Breslau (Poland) in the 1930. I presume, it is still there.

12. Indische Stimmungsbilder; sieben Episoden des Vikramāṅka-devacaritam. Aus dem Sanskrit übers. und erklärt von August Haack [Südöll ?] 1899. 88, 20p.

Both items were not available and hence unknown to Winternitz (Hist. of Ind. Lit., Eng. tr., vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 93n). The only copy known to me is from the Library of Congress, Washington (U.S.A.).

13. Vikramāṅkadevacaritramu. Tr. into Telugu from the original Sanskrit [romance] of Bilhaṇa, by Sathavathanulu, Tirupathi Venkateswara Kavulu. Reprinted from "The Saraswati". (Saraswati Series) Cocanada, 1906 115p.

<sup>1</sup> A University text book,

- ✓ 14. Vikramāṅkadevacaritam : Glimpses of the History of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa; first English rendering by Sures Chandra Banerji and Amal Kumar Gupta. Calcutta ; Sambodhi publications, 1965. 4, [6], 323, 9p. front. (map), tab . .

d. Critical studies

15. Dvivedī, Mahāvīra Prasāda : Vikramāṅkadevacaritacarcā. 1907.

Written in Hindī; the author has drawn heavily on Bühlers's *Introd. (ed. pri.)* for his informations and ideas expressed herein.

e. Articles, Notices, Reports etc.

- ✓ 16. Bühler, Georg: A short notice of the MS... . *Ind. Ant.* 3, 1874, p. 89.

An account of the discovery of the Vcar. MS. from Jeselmir.

- ✓ 17. — : Analysis of the first seventeen sargas of Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkakāvya. (From Dr. Bühler's Introduction to the Vikramāṅkadevacarita). *Ind. Ant.* 5, 1876, p. 317-323.

18. — : Book notices : the Vikramāṅkadevacarita, . . ed. by Georg Bühler. Bombay, 1875. *Ind. Ant.* 5, 1876 p. 324-327.

A review article by the editors of the journal in which is also given a metrical English translation of 26 verses (4.43 - 48).

19. Bhandarkar, Ramakrishna Gopal : A Manuscript of Vikramāṅk [adeva] carita : the second yet discovered. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84. Bombay : Govt. Central Press, 1887. pp. 18, 327-334.

An examination of this fragmentary MS., which begins with the second line of stanza 62 of the first canto, and concludes at the end of the seventh canto,

was conducted at Pāṭan (Ahmedabad) libraries. A comparison of the MS. with Dr. Bühler's ed. and its readings is given in Append. III (p. 327f.).

### C. CAURAPANĀŚIKĀ<sup>2</sup>

#### a. Text editions

20. Bohlen, Petrus von, ed. : *Bhartṛhari's sententiae et Carmen quod Chauri nomine circumfertur eroticum. Ad codicum mss. fidem editit latine vertit et Commentariis intruxit a Petrus a Bohlen*. Berlin : Ferdinand Duemmler, 1833. pp. 1-20, 75-83, 127-44.

The Bengali recension of Caurap. with commentary of Gaṇapati (along with Bhartṛhari's Śataka) : this is the first European edition. The editor has given a Latin translation of the verses and some notes on the commentary.

21. Haeblerlin, John, comp. : *Kāvya-saṃgraha*. A Sanskrit anthology, being a collection of the best smaller poems in the Sanskrit language [containing the...Caurapancāśikā...]. Calcutta : W. Thacker, 1874. pp. 227-36.

Bengali recension.

22. Ariel, M., ed. : *Les cinquantes (couplets) de Tchora ou histoire de Bilhana*. Journal Asiatique, ser. 4, t. 11, Paris 1848, pp. 469-489.

Southern Indian recension.

23. Fauche, Hippolyte, ed. : *Bhartṛhari et Tchaura, ou la Pantchacika du second et les sentences érotiques, morales et ascétiques du premier. Expliquées du sanscrit en français, pour la première fois par Hippolyte Fauche*. Paris : A. Frank, 1852. 7, 208pp.

Sanskrit text with French tr.

2 Also called Cauri-surata-pañcāśikā, Bilhaṇa-pañcāśikā, Saśikalā-pañcāśikā and Vidyā-rūpa-guṇa-varṇana. The work is ascribed to Bilhaṇa, who is also called Caura and Sundara.

24. Damaruvallabha Vidāmbara : Bhāṣā-saptaratna. [ A collection of seven Sanskrit poems translated into the Parbatīya dialect of Hindi spoken in Nepal. ] Arthāt Caurapañcāśikā...Kāshī [ Benares ] : Amara Press 1944 [=1887]. pp. 15-33.  
Attributed to Caura.
25. Chaurapañchāśikā with footnotes. Grantharatnamālā. (A Monthly Sanskrit Magazine), Vol. II, no. 9, Bombay, 1889, 11p.
26. Vidyāsundara : Vidyāsundara - Chaurapañchāśikā etc. [ Vidyāsundara. A romantic poem, in 54 stanzas, treating of the love of Vidyā and Sundara. Followed by Bilhaṇa's Chaurapañchāśikā. With a Hindi transl. of both poems by Mahīdhara Śarmā of Tihari ]. 2 pts. Bombay : ?, 1951 [=1894]. 2, 28, 30 p.
27. The Chaurapanchāsika, an Indian love lament. Transl. and illustrated by Sir Edwin Arnold. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübners, 1896. 4 p. 1. [53] p: col. illus. 25 × 17 cm., oblong:  
Sanskrit text (of P. von Bohlen) and translation on opposite pages, in auto-lithography. Translation within red line border.
28. Kāvya-kalāpa. Number first [ containing the...Caurapañcāśikā,... Śrī-Dīnanātha-Nyāyaratnena saṃśodhitaḥ kvacit kvacit vivṛtaḥ... Edited by Hāridāsa Hīrācanda. Bombay : Ganpat Krishnaji's Press, 1864. pp. 100-105.  
In the anthology the Caurapañcāśikā is ascribed to Sundarakavi.
29. Saṃskṛta-kāvya-saṃgrahaḥ [ ...caura-pancāśikā, .....Śrī-Dīnanātha-Nyāyaratnena saṃśodhitaḥ kvacit vivṛtaḥ... ] compiled by Dinanatha Nyayaratna. Calcutta : Kāvya-prakāśa Press [ 1869 ]. pp. 183-92.
30. Kāvya-saṃgrahaḥ [ ... Caura-pancāśikā- ... prabhṛtipanca-saptati-Saṃskṛta-kāvyaṭmakāḥ ... Śrī-Jivānanda-Vidyā-sāgara-Bhaṭṭācāryeṇa saṅkalitaḥ saṃskṛtaś ca... ] Com-

piled by Jivānand Vidyāsāgara. Calcutta : Nūtaṇa-Bhārata Press, 1872. pp. 182-91.

Second ed. Calcutta : Sarasvatī Press, 1886 ; third ed., enriched with commentary, in three volumes, Calcutta : Sarasvatī Press, 1888. Volume I containing the Caurapañcāśikā, ascribed to Sundarakavi, with a full comm. by the editor, pp. 596-617.

31. Kāvya - sangraha ... Part II [containing the...Caurapañcāśikā, ...]. Calcutta : Sangbāda Jñānaratnākara press, 1874. pp. 30-38.

32. Solf, Wilhelm. Die Kaśmīr-Recension der Pañcāśikā. Ein Beitrag zur indischen Text-Kritik von Dr. W. Solf. Kiel : C.F. Haeseler, 1886. 26, 34 pp.

North Indian recension with text critical discussions based on Bühler's M.S, originally submitted as doctorate - dissertation in 1868, Univ. of Halle.

33. Kāśmiraka Bilhaṇakavirājaviracitam Bilhaṇakāvyaṃ. [Containing Caurapañcāśikā, the 50 stanzas form only an insertion from vv. 75-124], 2nd ed...Bombay : Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, 1916. pp. 145-69. (Kāvyamālā, 13).

Containing Southern Indian recension, together with Bilhaṇa's Love Episode, though differently in each of two editions.

34. Bilhaṇapañcāśikā, ed. by B.J. Sandesara. Sāhitya, 20 no.7, July 1933. pp. 385-400.

Western-Southern recension. The journal seems to be long out- of- print.

35. Caurapañcāśikā, an Indian love lament of Bilhaṇakavi. Critically edited with introd., notes, transl. and appendices by S.N. Tadpatrikar. Poona : Oriental Book Agency, 1946. 8,43p. (Poona Oriental Series, 86).

Second ed. (reprint) 1966. Text in Sanskrit with Eng. transl. . .Includes appendices (*Parīkṣita*) (I) *pūrvapī-*



*ṭhikā (auttarāhapāṭhānusāreṇa). (II) bilhaṇacaritapūrvapāñcāśat (dāksīṇātyapāṭhānu-sāreṇa). (III) blihaṇapāñcāśat pratyuttaram athavā narendratānaya-saṃjalpitaṃ. (IV) pāṭhāntareṣu dṛṣṭān adhikāni padyāni.*

36. Phantasies of a love-thief : the Caurapañcāśikā attributed to Bilhaṇa, a critical edition and transl. of two recensions with sixteenth-century illustration of the text by Barbara Stoler Miller. New York : Columbia Univ. Press, 1971, illu. 12, 233p. (Studies in Oriental Culture, 6) (Unesco Collection of Representative works, Indian Series).

University of Pennsylvania, Ph. D. dissertation 1968. The critical edition comprises 50 verses in each of the Northern and the Western-Southern recensions and 17 additional verses which are not attested to in either recension. An Eng. transl. of the verses is given on the opposite page, with variant readings, and notes. An appendix is devoted to historical and stylistic analyses of an 16th century illustrated manuscript from Rajasthan. The facsimile reproductions of the paintings in black and white on the last eighteen pages are of great interest to art critics in particular and indologists in general.

#### b. Fragments

37. Rāya, Bhāratachandra : The Vidyā-Sundara; the poetical works of Bharut Chunder Roy, [in Bengali, including some original stanzas in Sanskrit and the Sanskrit text of the Chorapanchāśat or Chaurapañcāśikā with Bhāratachandra's Bengali adaptation]. Second edition. Calcutta : 1275 [=1868]. 10, 8, 32, 580, 48.

The text has been edited recently by Brajendranāth Bandopādhyāy and Sajanikānta Dās, Bhāratcandrera granthābali, Calcutta : Baṅgīya sāhitya pariṣad, 1950. For Eng. tr. of the Caurap. verses in it, cp. E.C. Dimock (Tr.), The Thief of Love, pp. 123-24.

c. Translations

38. Ariel, M., *tr.* : Tchorapantchasat publie, traduit et commente par Ariel. Journal Asiatique, ser. 4. t. 11, Paris 1848, pp. 490-134.

French translation of the author's South Indian recension, cp. above no. 21.

39. Wollheim da Foseca, Anton Edmund. Orientalisches Liederbuch. Parlen aus dem Morgenlande, metrische übersetzungen mit...Anmerkungen. Die 50 Stanzas Taschaura's. Hamburg, Leipzig [printed], 1853. pp. 1-21.

An annotated German versification.

40. Anthologie erotique d'Amarou, suivie des sentences erotiques de Bhartrihari et de contes orientaux. Paris : Bibliotheque de Curieux, 1914.

The anthology includes French transl. of the Caurapañcāśikā together with the Amaruśataka and Śṛṅgāraśataka of Bhartṛhari.

41. Mathers, E. Powys. Black, Marigolds : being a rendering into English of the "Panchasika of Chauras" [sic]. Oxford : B. H. Blackwell, [1919]. 2p. 1, 7-21, 1 p.

It is a free English tr. of the Caurapañcāśikā, also reprinted later in : (I) A Anthology of World Poetry, ed, by Mark von Doren. New York : Hartcourt, Brace, 1936. pp.66.67. (ii) Love Songs of Asia, 1944, pp. 35-38.

42. Gollwitzer, Gerhard. Des Paṇḍit Bilhana fünfzig Strophen von heimlicher Liebeslust. Nachdichtung und Holzschnitte von Gerhard Gollwitzer. Goppingen : Frank Gottfried Herwig, 1953. Unpaged, illus.

The German versification of fifty stanzas is of the Kashmirian recension of the Caurap. ed. by Wilhelm Solf, cp. no. 34. above.

43. Schwebell, Gertraude Clorious, *tr.* : The Secret Delights

of Love by the Pundit Bilhaṇa. New York : Peter Pauper Press. 1966.

d. Illustrations

44. Shiveshwarker, Leela. The Pictures of the Chaurapanchasika : a Sanskrit love lyric New Delhi : National Museum, 1967.

Coloured reproductions of a Rajasthani painted MS. of this text; it includes Sanskrit text and translation into Eng. A detailed introduction to the text throws light on the style, period and other questions relevant to the paintings.

e. Critical and literary writings

45. Schütz, C. [Sometimes called Karl Wilhelm Schütz]. Kritische und erklärende Anmerkungen zu der von Herrn Professor Bohlen besorgten Ausgabe des Chaurapanchasika und Bhartṛhari. Bielefeld, 1835.

A critical and explanatory note on the Bohlen's ed. of the Caurap. and Bhartṛhari's epigrams.

46. Winternitz, Moritz, *review* : [Die Kacmir-Recension der Pañcāśikā... von W. Solf, 1886. A review article in German]. österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient. Nr. 8, 15 August, 1886, pp. 155-57.

Winternitz in his learned review deals with three recensions of this popular work : the first, the Bengali recension of Bohlen, the second, the South Indian recension of Ariel, and the third, the Northern Indian recension discovered by Bühler in a MS. found in Kasmir, and described by him in his, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS., made in Kasmir, Rajputana, and Central India, Bombay, 1887. Solf is of the opinion that this recension decides finally that the author of the work is Bilhaṇa, and that it is the best text of the Pañcāśikā. Although the writer of the review differs from Solf as to the

translation of the certain passages, he reports that, as an essay on textual criticism, his work is excellent (Ind. Ant. 66, p. 282).

47. Jacobi, Hermann, review. : *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, III, 63f.

Reviewed the Kashmirian recension of Caurap. ed. by W. Solf:

48. Tadpatrikar, S.N. Bilhaṇa's *Pañcāśikā*. ABORI 9, pt. 1 (1927-28) pp. 18-23.

Included in the introduction to the author's ed. of *Caurapañcāśikā*, Poona, 1946.

### D. *BILHAṆAKĀVYA* [ascribed]<sup>3</sup>

#### a. Text editions

49. Bilhaṇa caritramu [Bilhaṇa-caritra]. Saṃskṛtam. ...Madras : Sarasvatī-nilaya Press, 1870. 1, 24p.

Text in Telugu characters. Reprinted in 1873.

50. Bilhaṇa-caritram [Bilhaṇa-charitra ; a legend of the life of the poet Bilhaṇa in verse. Edited and published by Vāvilla Rāmasvāmī Śāstri] Chennapuri, Madras, 1881. 24p.

Printed in Grantha characters.

51. Bilhaṇa-caritram [Bilhaṇa-caritra]. Madras : Sastra-samjivani Press, 1914. 32p.

Printed in Grantha characters.

52. Bilhaṇa. Kāśmīrakabilhaṇakavirājaviracitaṃ Bilhaṇa-kāvyaṃ [also called Bilhaṇa-caritra]. Kāvya-mālā...Part 13, 8. Second edition by Kedāranāth Durgāprasād and revised by Wāsudev Laxman Shāstrī Pansīkar. Bombay : Nirṇaya-sāgar Press, 1916. pp. 145.69 (Kāvya-mālā 13).

3 Also called Bilhaṇacaritra.

First ed. 1903. Apparently another different versions of the Bilhaṇa-caritra. Cp. also Caurap. (ed. Tadpatrikar, appen. 1) no. 31 above.

b. Translations, adaptations and  
paraphrases

53. Krishna-svami, Pandipeddi....[Bilhaṇa-charitramu, or Bilhaṇīyam. A poem in three āśvāsa, interspersed with prose, on the story of the poet Bilhaṇa's amour with the princess, his pupil, and his escape from punishment. Edited by V. Ramasvami Sastri]. Madras, 1864. 56.

In Telugu language.

54. Rāmānujāchāryulu, Kandāḍai Krishṇamāchārya . . [Bilhaṇanāṭakamu. A lyrical drama on the legend of the poet Bilhaṇa and his amour with the princess, his pupil. Edited by Panchāṅgam Rāghavāchāryulu]. Madras, 1884. 101 p.

In Telugu language.

55. Siṅgārāyudu, Chitra-kavi. Bilhaṇīyam. A poem in three āśvāsas, interspersed with prose, on the legend of the poet Bilhaṇa's amour with the princess, his pupil, said to have been composed by Siṅgārāyudu, and later sold by his son Nārasimha to Paṇḍipeddi Kṛishṇasvāmī, who is now described as the author in the colophons and some interpolated verses. Edited by T. Deva Perumāllayya. Madras, 1910. (Anandasrama-grantha-ratna-mala - (Ananda Press Series).

In Telugu language.

56. Kṛishṇayya, Gūḍa Vēṅkaṭāchalārya. The Sangeet Bilhaṇīyam. A Telugu drama in 6 acts of the story of Bilhaṇa [the poet and his amour with the princess, his pupil]. Pervali [Printed in Tenali], 1910. 2,3, 103p.

In Telugu language.

57. Rāma-Chandra Śāstri. Mārēpalli. Bilhaṇīyam [A drama

in 5 acts on the story of the amour of the poet Bilhaṇa with the princess, his pupil]. Vizagapatam, 1910. 4,2,2,93p. (Kalābhilāshaka-kāvya-mālika, 3.

In Tamil language. The drama has been staged more than once.

58. Sarma, Sundaresa. Prem-vijaya (Triumph of love). Kumbhakoṇam (Tanjore) : General Stores, South Main Street, 1943.

A Sanskrit drama based on Bilhaṇa's love episode and Ambikapati in Tamil.

59. Swami, A.S.S., Bilhaṇa [A Tamil drama in 3 acts]. Madras, 1944.

Based on the well-known amour of Bilhaṇa.

#### E. A LIST OF RELEVANT HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL WRITINGS

##### a. Cultural

60. Gode, P.K. References to Persian oil in Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacarita and in Āryamañjuśrīkalpa- between c. A.D. 50 and 1100. Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society, 2,1, pp. 15-17 (=Studies in Indian Literary History, vol. 1, pp. 322-24).
61. Gode, P.K. The Antiquity of the Hindoo Nose-Ornament etc. . ABORI, 21, pp. 313-34 (=Studies in Indian Cultural History, p. 155, 57).  
Trace of nose-pearl : *nāsāvaṃśa...muktāphala* in Vcar. 8.80 (=Bühler ed. 79).
62. Gode, P. K., Some Notes on the History of Candana etc. ... New Ind. Ant., 8, 1946, pp. 157-82. (=Studies in Indian Culture, Vol. 1, pp. 355-36, 345).  
Stanzas referring to candana, collected from Vcar.
63. Raja, Srinivasa A., A Historic Pageant of Suicide. Triveni Quarterly, Bangalore, 15, pp. 23-27  
Refers to *jalasamādhi* of Someśvara I (Āhavamalla-deva) in Vcar. 4.66. . Cp. P.V. Kane, Hist. of Hindu Dharmaśāstra, vol. 2 pt. 2 pp. 925-26.

## b. Historical

64. Bhandarkar, R. G., Early History of Deccan. Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, pt. 2, Bombay, 1896. (=Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, vol. 3).  
Third ed ... Calcutta, 1928
65. Dave, Māneklāl Kākūlāl. *Cālukya Vāṃśa no Itihāsa*. Sir Forbes Gujarati Sabha Quarterly, Bombay, vol. 7, dt. 4, pp. 339-50.
66. Dave, Māneklāl Kākūlāl. *Cālukya Vāṃśa no Itihāsa* *Parīṣṭa*. Sir Forbes Gujarati Sabha Quarterly, Bombay, vol. 8, pp. 95-103.
67. Desai, P.B., The Chalukya-Vikrama era. Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, 48, (1957-58) Karnatak number, pp.6-15.
68. Dixshit, G.S., Western Chalukya Relations with Central India. *Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. D.V. Potdar Comm. Vol.*, Poona, 1950, pp. 278-81.
69. Ganguly, D.C., Later Chalukyas and Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa. *The History and Culture of Indian People*, vol. 5 (The Struggle for Empire), 2nd. ed., Bombay : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1966, pp. 161-83.
70. Karmarkar, A.P., Cultural aspects of Medieval Karnāṭaka. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Banglore), vol. 34, pp. 129-47.
71. Katare, S.L., The Chalukyas of Kalyāṇī (up to Ayyana II). *IHQ*. 13, pp.244-56 and vol. 17, pp.11-34.
72. Majumdar, A.K., *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*. Bombay : Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956.
73. Morees, George M., *The Kadamba Kula - A History of Ancient India and Medieval Karnataka*, with a preface by Rev. H. Heras. Bombay, 1931. 504p. illus., maps, tabs. (Studies in India History of the Indian Historical Res. Inst., St. Xavier College, Bombay, no.5).
74. Nilakanta Sastri, A.K., Epigraphical Note : Vikramāditya VI and Hoysal Vishṇuvardhana. *Indian Culture*. 10.pp. 35-40.

75. Pai, K.A., *Westesn Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī*. (unpublished). thesis : Bombay University.
76. Pai, M.G., *Date of Coronation of Chālukya Vikrama (Kannaḍa)*. *Karṇāṭaka Sāhitya Parisad Patrika*, vol. 15, 1931, pp .200f.
77. Pathak, V.S., *Ancient Historians of India, a Study in Historical Biographies*. London : Asia Publishing House, 1966. pp. 56-83.
78. Rao, B.V.K., *Chālukya Cholulu (Chalukya-Cholas)*, *Bhārati*, vol. 33, pt. 1, 22-31; 141-49; 204-21; 351-55; 415-20.
79. Rao, L.N., *The Chalukyas. Karnataka-Darshana; Volume Presented to Shri R.R. Diwakar on his Sixtieth Birthday*. Bombay : Popular Book Depot, 1955. pp. 30-41.
80. Venkataraman, Ayyar, A.V., *The Life and Times of Chālukya Vikramāditya*. *Ind. Ant.* 48, pp. 112f., 133f.
81. Venkataramayya, M., *Western Chālukya and Chola Conflict in Vengi : Gonka II*. *Jour. Ori. Res. (Madras)*, 17 pt. 3, 1947-48., 129-37.
82. Venkatasubhiah, A., *The Chronology of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī*. *Ind. Ant.* 47 and 48.



## Works of Reference

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The sigla and abbreviation of works referred to are arranged here alphabetically with other relevant works :—

- ABORI : Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
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